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of the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut

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February, 1977

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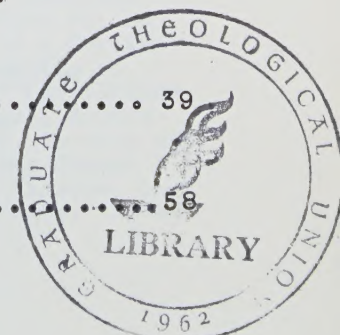
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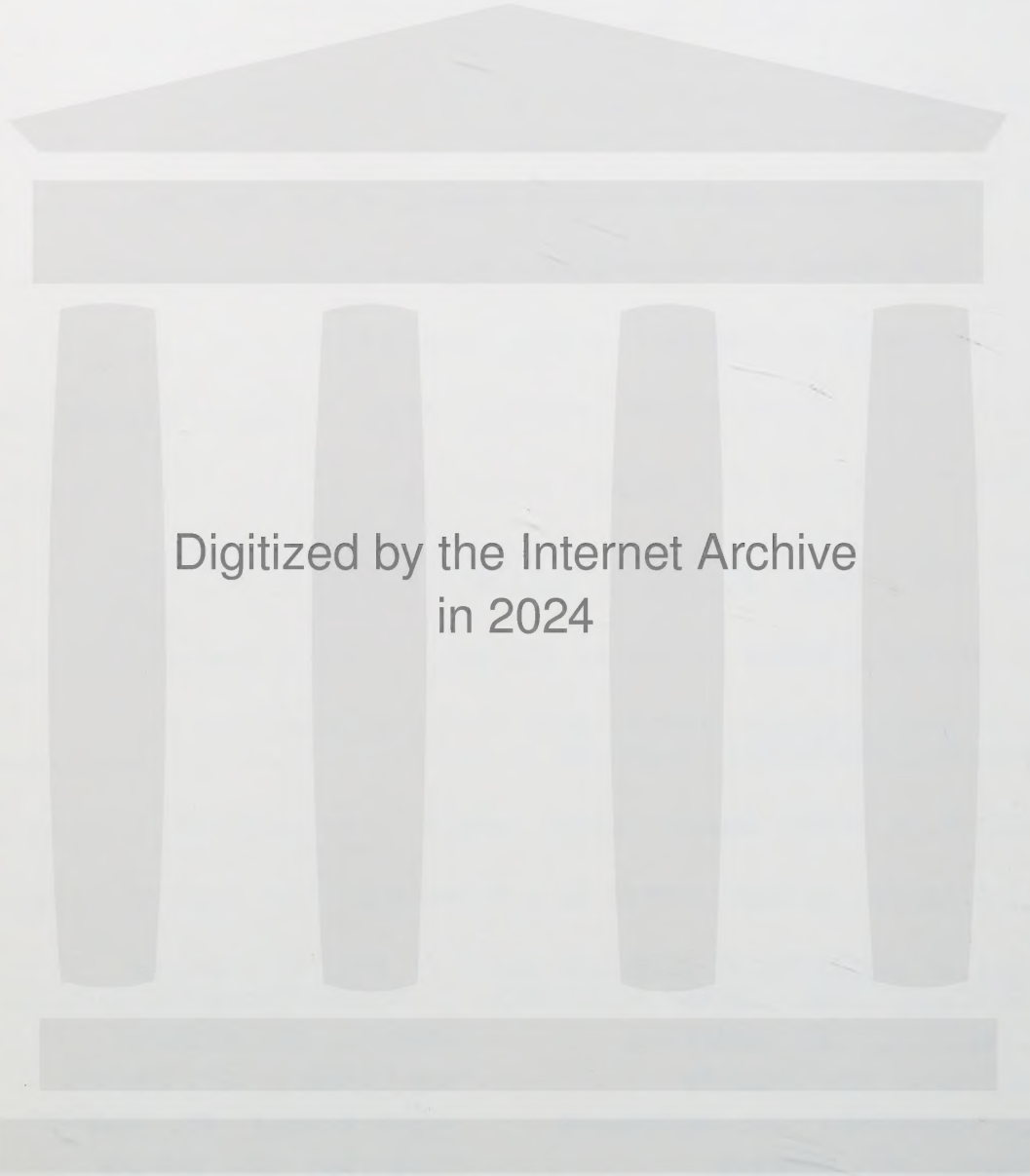
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CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING CONSECRATIONS FOR THE AMERICAN CHURCH BETWEEN 1784 AND 1786

[In a fragile composition book sent in 1906 to Dean Samuel Hart, then Registrar of the Diocese of Connecticut, and now preserved in the Diocesan Archives in the section on scrapbooks appear the following transcripts of letters, the originals of which may or may not survive. It is accompanied by a letter to Dr. Hart from the Rev. Arthur Laurence.]

The Rectory, Stockbridge,
Massachusetts. Jan'y 22, 1906.

My dear D^r Hart,

Mr Francis King of London, who is the greatgrandson of D^r Charles Moss, Bishop of Bath & Wells, has sent me copies of papers relative to the consecration of American Bishops, written in 1784 and thereabouts. The originals he means to send me, if his brother, now an official in India, consents.

I do not know whether these papers contain anything not already in the possession of the American Church. You will know far better than I.

If they are of any value, please let me know it; and put them where they properly belong.

I send the paper by registered mail.

Believe me, very faithfully yours

Arthur Laurence

D^r Samuel Hart,
Middletown, Conn.

Copies of letters, papers, etc by Dr Charles Moss, Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr John Moore), & the Bishop of London (Dr Robert Lowth) on the application of the American Clerical & lay Deputies to the Bishops of the Church of England to ordain Bishops and Clergy for certain of the United States of America. The correspondence belongs apparently to the years 1784-1786, and consists of the following letters etc preserved in a packet by my Grandmother, the wrapper of which is inscribed, "On American Ordination by my dear Father, H. M. King." F. K.

N^o I

[Paper by Bishop Moss on Episcopal Jurisdiction in the Church of England & its proposed application to the case of ordination for congregations in the U. S. A. Two copies, both in the Bishop's hand, and undated. F. K.]

"Every Bp derives his Spiritual powers from the Gospel, but in the exercise of them, he is subject to the Civil magistrate, who is supreme, within his own dominions, over all persons ecclesiastical

as civil, and it has been y^e general usage in all Christian countries to confine the Jurisdiction of y^e Bishop within certain bounds and limits.

This is, and always has been, y^e [custom] of y^e English Bishops—— Each Bp is appointed by the King to some particular Diocese; He is elected, confirmed and consecrated Bp. of that Diocese. To Persons and Things within that Diocese his Jurisdiction is confined. He cannot perform any public Episcopal act in another Diocese, nor in his own Diocese upon persons who are subject to another Bishop, without a special authority from him.

In those parts of the British Dominions where no Bishop has been established, His Majesty, by virtue of his supremacy, may appoint one; or may grant a special commission to any Bishop, to exercise all Spiritual powers there.

By such a commission the Bp of London, in time past, has been invested with Spiritual Jurisdiction over his Majesty's Dominions in America; who appointed Commissaries for the exercise of it, reserving to himself that of conferring Holy Orders, which could not be delegated to the Commissary.

A large part of y^e British Dominions in America, being now dismembered and separated from the Crown of England, all the Power that remains in the King of England is, to authorize his Bps to admit to the ministry any subject of y^e American States, who may be desirous of receiving Episcopal ordination.

Should his majesty be advised to issue a commission for that purpose to some one of his Bishops, a question will arise, after what manner and form ought the powers granted in such commission to be exercised? Under a commission to admit generally to the order of Deacon and Priest, it is apprehended that the Bp is not bound to y^e use of any particular form or office of ordination, but is at full liberty to use any proper form, that contains in it everything that has been thought, in all ages of the Church, to be essential to the act of Ordination.

An excellent Form has been established for the use of the Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, perfectly conformable, in all essential points, to the ancient models. This Form the English Bishops are bound to follow in the admission of English subjects to y^e ministry but it carries no obligation with it, in regard to aliens or subjects of a foreign State; it was not in the intention of those who framed it, nor of y^e Legislature in y^e several acts of Parliament, directing and enjoining y^e use of it, to make any provision for foreigners; it was framed solely for the use of English Bishops, in the ordination of English subjects. Those

Bishops are bound to use it for that purpose, under pain of disobedience to his Majesty and the Parliament, but there is nothing in any of the acts of Parl.^t relative thereto, that in express terms, or by necessary implications or construction of Law binds them any further. As Bishops of the Catholic Church they are at liberty to use any proper Catholic form that has all the essentials necessary to give full validity to the act of ordination.

But supposing an English Bp (under power to confer orders generally) to be left at liberty to use any proper and effectual form; He would of course follow that of the Church of England, omitting and varying such parts of it as do not directly apply to aliens. This indeed is not likely to be the case. His Majesty will probably be advised, not to leave the matter to the Bp's choice, but to oblige him, by express words in the commission to make use of the English form so far as it is applicable to the subjects of foreign States. But be this as it may, from the points herein stated and enforced, it appears, that there is no need of asking y^e aid of Parl.^t to enable y^e English Bishops to supply the Episcopal Churches in America with a regular succession of Pastors duely and canonically ordained; as his Majesty has an undoubted right to authorize his Bps to ordain y^e subjects of any foreign States, and there is no law in Being to restrain them from using any proper and Catholic form for that purpose.

II

[Bishop Moss' "queries" as to Jurisdiction of Anglican Bishops over foreign subjects. No date. F. K.]

The Queries that arise upon this state of y^e argument are as follows—

1st. Is not y^e Bp in y^e exercise of his spiritual Powers, restrained to things and persons within his own diocese?

2^{ly}. Is not the King, as supreme head of the Ch. empowered to grant his licence to any of his Bps, to exercise y^e power of conferring orders upon y^e subjects of foreign States, as well as upon his own subjects in America, where no Bps have been established?

3. Is not y^e Bp, licensed by his M^y to ordain generally y^e subjects of a foreign State, at full liberty to use any proper Catholic form for that purpose; not being bound either in y^e express words by Law, or by just inference, to use it in y^e case of aliens?

4. May not a Bp commissioned by his M^y to ordain y^e subjects of a foreign State, be bound, by special words in y^e Commission, to use y^e office of y^e Ch of England, so far as it is applicable?

III

[Précis of Canons bearing on the subject in Bishop Moss' hand. No date. F. K.]

Can 33. No person to be admitted to sacred orders except he shall exhibit to y^e Bp a presentⁿ to some Eccl. preferment then void in that Diocese; or is provided of some Ch. in y^e sd Diocese &c or place in Cath. Ch. in sd Diocese &c.

34. No Bp to admit any into sacred orders, not of his own Diocese, except he be either of one of y^e Universities, or shall bring letters Dimissory &c.

35. Any Bp ordaining persons not qualified as above to be suspended for 2 years.

36. Candidates to subscribe K's supremacy. Candidates to take y^e Oaths of Allegiance and supremacy-- To declare that they will reverently obey their Ordinary &c. ~~M^y~~ Bp. no power to exercise his Function but in matters relative to his own diocese.

IV

[Bishop C. Moss's draught of Petition to George III and form of patent under the Great Seal for powers enabling the Bishop of London to consecrate American subjects to the orders of Deacon and Priest. There are, besides the following Paper, two other rough copies or variants by the same, all in Bishop Moss' handwriting. As one of these draughts is written on a Summons to a Vestry meeting of St George's Hanover Square of May 12, 1784, [and] another contains a memorandum dated "May 11," it is possible that this paper was drawn up about May 14, 1784. F. K.]

To the Kings most excellent Majesty, The memorial of sheweth. That in several of the united states of America, the Church of England always has been and continues to be the established Religion; and in those states, where it has had no regular Establishment, there are numerous congregations, who profess y^e doctrine and conform to y^e worships of that Church;

That nevertheless, through the late calamities in that Country, and more especially by y^e Severities which have been exercised against y^e ministers of the Church of England, many of them have been driven from their respective congregations, and even whole provinces are reported, at this time, to be destitute of Pastors, to perform the common offices of Religion.

That Bishops having never been settled in any of the American States they have no other means of being provided with a regular succession of ministers for the service of Religion, than by sending their Candidates for the ministry into this Country, to be ordained by Bp^s of y^e English Church;

That, however, y^e English Bp^s being limited in the exercise of their Spiritual powers, by the laws and Constitution of y^e Church, can afford no relief in this matter to their brethern in America without receiving special authority from your Majesty for that purpose; And if such re-

lief should be withheld, or long delayed, it must occasion an immediate decline, and soon end in a total Extinction of the Church of England in y^e American States;

To prevent consequences so derogatory to the honour and so prejudicial to the Interests of these Kingdoms, it is most humbly submitted to your majesty, whether it might not be adviseable to issue a commission to one or more of your Bp^s, authorizing them to admit to y^e ministry, any subject of the American States who shall desire it, and shall appear duely and canonically qualified for it.

Form of a Patent under y^e G. Seal enabling the Bp of _____ to ordain &c

N^o G., by the Grace of God etc To the Rev'd Father in God Robt. Bp of London sendeth Greeting— Whereas y^e Episcopal Churches in y^e united States of america, who profess y^e doctrine and conform to the worshipps of y^e Church of England, having no Bp resident amongst them, are destitute of y^e means, which all other Churches have, of providing a regular succession of ministers for y^e performance of divine offices, and whereas we are desirous, as far as in us lies, of relieving y^e wants of the Churches, which were originally derived from, and continue to be members and branches of the Church established in these our Dominions of England and Ireland;

Know ye, that we having full confidence in the prudence, integrity and abilities of you, y^e said Bp of London, have out of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, to you the said Bp, and to any other Bp whom you may think proper to call to your assistance herein, full power and authority to confer y^e holy orders of Deacon & Priest upon any of the subjects of y^e American States, or any person who shall be appointed to a spiritual cure within the Dominions of y^e said States, provided that every such person be duely recommended for his moral and religious character, as worthy of y^e ministry, and shall be found in all other respects to be well qualified for the sacred Office, according to y^e laws and ordinances of y^e Ch. And we do hereby farther require you y^e sd Bp in y^e execution of y^e sd Commission, to use y^e form of ordination provided by public authority for y^e use of y^e Church of England, so far as it is applicable to y^e subjects of y^e American States.

V

[The Bishop of London to Bishop Moss dated May 17 1784. The mention of the word Sciatis [or] "Know ye" probably refers to the Clause in the Patent in preceding paper (No IV). F. K.]

My good Lord

I have carefully considered the paper wch your Lordship was so good as to leave with me this morning; and I think it is

perfectly right and unexceptionable when the beginning of the clause Sciatis is corrected wch will be set to right by leaving out the words Know ye that— I have the honour to be with the greatest Respect, My dear Lord

Your Lordships Most Obedient
humble serv^t

R. London

London House

May 17 1784.

VI

[The Archbishop of Canterbury to Bishop Moss, perhaps enclosing the "Address" of the American Clerical and Lay Deputies alluded to. If so this would be in 1785. F. K.]

My dear Lord,

I send you the Inclosed, which I have just received by the Penny Post, and which furnishes a pretty strong proof, in my apprehension, of the impatience and ill-humour of the American gentry in this business. They seem resolved to believe we are averse to their Ordination, notwithstanding our explicit declarations to the contrary, and as explicit assurances that we are endeavouring to remove the existing obstacles. Have you seen Dr Wynne? Has the Bishop of Bangor talked with the Chancellor? When can we have a little more conversation on this subject? I am yours faithfully

J Cantuar

Monday morning,
8 o'clock

VII

[Draught of Bishop Moss's letter to Archbishop of C. on same subject, chiefly bearing on question of supposed "allegiance to the King of England," implied in Orders derived from Anglican Sources. F. K.]

I doubt not but your Grace has seen, or heard from the Bp of Bangor. From him I learn, that my Ld Chancellor concurs with Dr Wynne in opinion that y^e most adviseable way of gratifying the wishes of y^e americans is, for the Bp of London to receive and ordain y^e Candidates as heretofore, without omitting or varying any part of the ordination service, and without seeking y^e aid either of his Majesty or the Parli^t.

It is obvious to observe in this case, 1st that the Bp of London has no legal authority to ordain y^e subjects of any foreign State.

2^{ly} That it seems to be unreasonable to require y^e subjects of another country to swear allegiance to y^e King of England, to whom they owe no allegiance; or to profess canonical obedience to y^e Ordinary to whom they owe no obedience. But in truth, the Bp of London has for many years exercised this power without having any special authority for that purpose, and no objection or complaint has been made against it; and 'tis highly probable that he will meet with no interruption in y^e exercise of it, in

time to come; it is probable also that an American candidate for holy orders will make no scruple of taking y^e oath of allegiance, or of professing obedience to the ordinary, as he is subject to the King and Laws of England, as well as to the jurisdiction of the ordinary, whilst he continues in England.

It should seem then that this measure may be safely adopted, recommended as it is, by Persons so eminently learned in the laws of their country, and the knowledge of mankind. ¹⁰ But having formed an opinion of my own upon this subject, which has already been explained by your Grace at large, against which there does not appear to be any forceable objection, either in point of Law or of prudence, I shall take y^e liberty of bringing back to your recollection, by stating the sum and substance of it in the following propositions.

1st That by Laws and Constitution of the Church of England, every English Bp. is limited in the exercise of his spiritual powers, to persons and things within his own Diocese; and consequently has no legal authority to ordain y^e subject of any foreign State, upon a Title to a spiritual cure in y^e jurisdiction of that State.

2nd That his Majesty may, in virtue of his Supremacy, remove this disability, and by commission under y^e great Seal, or otherwise, authorize any of his Bps to admit to the ministry y^e subject of foreign States, as he has done heretofore in regard to his own subjects in America, where no Bp otherwise had any legal authority to ordain.

3. Under a Commission from his Majesty in general terms to ordain any subject of the American States, the Bp, to whom it is granted, is at liberty to use any substantial and Catholic form of Ordination, without adhering to that which is contained in the Liturgy of the Church of England, any further than he may judge it to be strictly applicable to Americans, the said form of ordination having been framed merely for y^e use of y^e subjects of y^e King of England, and neither y^e Statutes nor Canons that enjoy y^e use of it, by express words, or necessary implication, oblige y^e Bp in y^e use of it, in y^e ordination of aliens or subjects of any foreign Power whatsoever.

If the granting such a commission falls within y^e legal Prerogative of the Crown (of which there can be no doubt, his Majesty having heretofore granted such commissions in favour of his own American subjects, by y^e advice of the ablest Lawyers in his service) the only question that remains to be determined is, whether the doing of it in y^e present case would be right, in point of prudence, propriety and good policy. And surely in point of political prudence it will be more advisable in every case to seek your End by means that are strictly conformable to Laws, than by such as are otherwise. To grant such a commission as is proposed, cannot be supposed to administer offence or to jealousies of any

kind either here or in America, certainly not here; because the King does nothing more than exercise an undoubted prerogative of his Crown which cannot affect or interfere with y^e public or private rights of his people; not in America, because those of that country who are of y^e Episcopal Church most ardently wish it; and those who are of another persuasion will look upon it as an act that is perfectly indifferent to them, as it neither claims nor supposes any jurisdiction in y^e King of England over that country, and only holds out to them y^e legal and regular means of being supplied with a succession of pastors for the service of the Episcopal Church there, and if it could by any means be made y^e occasion of offence to America y^e door to American ordinations in any other way.

VIII

[Draught of Bishop Moss's letter to Archbishop of Canterbury recommending that a commission be granted to the Bishop of London, under the Great Seal, to ordain American subjects. Note that the Chancellor and D^r Wynne agree that the Bp of London may ordain pastors of the Episcopal Congregation in America, and that Bp. Moss reserves his own opinion which is against theirs and which prefers a Commission to the Bp of London. In the Bishop's hand, but not dated. F. K.]

My L^d Chancellor concurs in opinion with D^r Wynne, that y^e most advisable way, all circumstances considered, of gratifying y^e American Candidates, would be for the Bp of London to take y^e matter up, upon the foot of former usage, and to admit them to the ministry, as heretofore, without applying to the Parl^t or y^e Crown for authority for that purpose. Your Grace cannot surely do amiss in following y^e judgement of persons so eminently learned in y^e Laws of their Country and y^e knowledge of mankind. I shall not controvert y^e prudence or propriety of this measure, but having formed an opinion of my own, which has been explained to your Grace, and from which I cannot as yet see any good reason to depart, I shall leave with you two positions, which contain the sum and substance of it.

1st That, by the Laws and Constitution of y^e Church, every Bp is limited in the exercise of his Spiritual Powers, to persons and things within his own Diocese, and has no legal authority to ordain any person, who is y^e subject of a foreign State upon the Title of a spiritual Care within y^e jurisdiction of that state.

2nd That his Majesty, in virtue of his supremacy, may remove this disability, and by Commission under y^e great Seal, or otherwise, authorize any of his Bps to ordain y^e subjects of foreign States, as he did y^e Bp of London to ordain his own subjects in America, which he had otherwise no legal authority to do.

3 Under such a commission in general terms to ordain y^e subjects of a foreign State, y^e Bp is at liberty to use any substantial and catholic form of ordination, without adhering farther to that which is contained in y^e Liturgy of y^e Church of England, than he thinks proper; the said office of ordination having been framed merely for the use of the Subjects of y^e K. of England, and neither the Statutes nor Canons, that enjoin y^e use of it, either by express words or necessary implication, binding y^e Bp to y^e use of it in y^e case of aliens or subjects of any foreign State. *N* [- New Paragraph] If such a commission, as is here stated, comes within y^e legal prerogative of y^e Crown, as it certainly does, why should not the measure be adopted in favour of y^e americans? it can occasion no complaints at home, because it is only exercising an acknowledged right of y^e Crown, which has heretofore been exercised by y^e advice of y^e ablest Lawyers, without being questioned or controverted. It can give no offence to the americans because those of that country who are of y^e Ep^{al} Church, most ardently wish it, and those who are not of that Church, can take no just exceptions to it, as it neither claims nor supposes any jurisdiction in y^e Crown of England over that Country, and only signifies to the subjects of it, that if any of them are desirous of receiving Ep^{al} ordination his Majesty has authorized his Bps to gratify them in a legal manner, and if this could be made an occasion of offence to America, the like offence would be given by opening a door to y^e ordination of americans in any other way.

IX

[Reply of the Bishops of the Church of England to the address of "the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church," dated Feb 27, 1786, written by a clerk. The names or writing in italics are in the hand of the Abp of Canterbury & Docketed "Answer to Clerical and Lay Deputies, Feby 24, 1786." F. K.]

To the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in sundry of the United States of America.

The Archbishop of Canterbury hath received an address, dated in Convention, Christ Church Philadelphia Octr 5: 1785, from the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in sundry of the United States of America, directed to the Archbishops and Bishops of England, and requesting them to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be recommended by the Episcopal Church in the several states by them represented.

This brotherly and Christian Address was communicated to the Archbishop of York and to the Bishops with as much Despatch as their separate and distant Situations would permit, and hath been received and considered by them with that true and affectionate Regard which they have always shewn towards their Episcopal brethren in America.

6

We are now enabled to assure you, that nothing is nearer to our Hearts than the wish to promote your spiritual welfare, to be instrumental in procuring for you the complete Exercise of our holy Religion, and the Enjoyment of that Ecclesiastical Constitution, which we believe to be truly Apostolical, and for which you express so unreserved a Veneration.

We are therefore happy to be informed that this pious Design is not likely to receive any Discountenance from the several Powers under which you live, and We desire you to be persuaded that We, on our own Parts, will use our best Endeavours, which We have good reason to hope will be successful, to acquire a legal Capacity of complying with the Prayer of your Address.

With these Sentiments We are disposed to make every Allowance which Candour can suggest for the Difficulties of your Situation, but at the same time We cannot help being afraid that in the Proceedings of your Convention some Alterations may have been adopted or intended which those difficulties do not seem to justify.

Those Alterations are not mentioned in your Address; and, as our Knowledge of them is no more than what has reached us thro' private and less certain Channels, We hope you will think it just, both to you and to ourselves, if We wait for an Explanation. For, while We are anxious to give every Proof, not only of our brotherly affection but of our Facility in forwarding your wishes, We cannot but be extremely cautious lest We should be the Instruments of establishing an Ecclesiastical System, which will be called a Branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially, either in Doctrine or in Discipline. In the mean Time We heartily recommend you to God's holy Protection and are

Your Affectionate Brethren

J. Cantuar	R. Worcester
W. Ebor.	J. Oxford
R. London	J. Exeter
W. Chichester	Tho. Lincoln
C. Bath & Wells	John Bangor
St Asaph	Lichfield & Cov.
S. Sarum	S. Gloucester
J. Peterborough	E. St David's
Ely	Chr. Bristol
Rochester	

Duplicates of this answer to the Address from Philadelphia were put into the hands of M^r Adams, minister from the United States of America Feb. 27- 1786, by me, J. Cantuar.

X

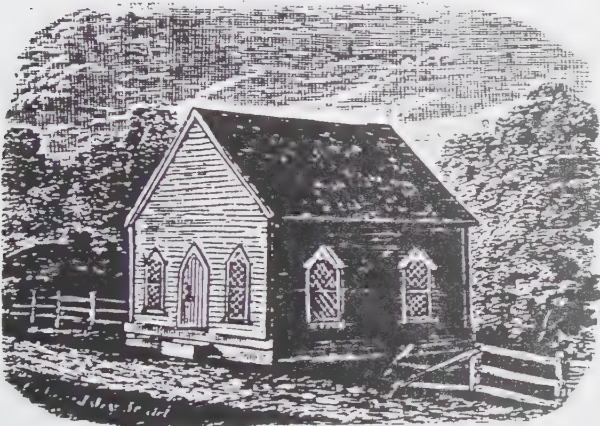
[The Archbishop of Canterbury to Bishop C. Moss. No date, probably end of 1786. F. K.]

Lambeth Tuesday.

My dear Lord,
I meant to call upon you this morning,

to thank you for your Note, and to inform you I had seen the Bishop of London to whom I communicated it. His sentiments agree with yours, and he will be glad to converse with you on the Subject. I hope the result will be, that, his health not admitting of his ordaining these Americans himself, Things may be so managed as that you may do it for him. I am

Your Obligated and affectionate brother
J Cantuar.



The First Episcopal Church Building in Derby, Connecticut, built in 1746. The second convention of the Diocese and the second ordination by Bishop Seabury were held herein in 1786.



Pope Paul VI and Arthur Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury



The Archbishop and Cardinal Marella pray together before the Blessed Sacrament in St. Peter's.

The Prayer Book Comes to New England*

CHAPTERS FROM AMIABLE DWELLINGS: THE EPISCOPAL CHURCHES OF WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS by Arthur Pierce Middleton

One would suppose that the Church of England would be dominant wherever the British flag flew and English settlers abounded. This was not the case, however, in the thirteen colonies that became the United States of America. The Anglican Church got here first—at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607—and remained strong in Virginia and to a lesser extent in Maryland until the Revolution. But it never succeeded in obtaining more than a foothold in the North, and especially in New England.

Puritans in the Ascendant

There were several reasons for this. The New England colonies were settled largely by Puritan non-conformists who were opposed to bishops and their claim to Apostolic authority and who refused to worship according to the liturgy of the Anglican Church as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. Another reason why the Church of England was so slow to gain ground in the New World was that late in the seventeenth century it entered a period of declining vitality, which was accentuated by the temper of eighteenth-century Rationalism. King William III and the first two Georges, moreover, were unsympathetic to Anglican principles and generally appointed bishops who lacked zeal for pressing the distinctive claims of the Church either at home or in the colonies.

Concern with Trade

The British Government in the eighteenth century was primarily concerned with trade rather than with religion and exhibited little inclination (until shortly before the Revolution) to meddle in American internal affairs. Hence the Anglican Church in the colonies lacked positive and forceful support from the London imperial authorities. A good example of this is the Government's neglect to accede to the various requests for colonial bishops. There was, to be sure, the problem of finding a means of financial support for them. But political expediency played the greater role in the Government's refusal to act. The Whig Party which virtually controlled Parliament from 1714 until 1763 leaned for support upon the mercantile interests of London and other British seaports where the English dissenters were concentrated. In America the dissenting majority opposed bishops in principle, feared their coercive power, and suspected that the proposal to introduce them into America was another device for fastening imperial authority upon the colonists.

For these reasons the English Church was hampered in its growth in English America and was denied the advantage that the Churches of France and Spain enjoyed in French and Spanish America. Even so, Anglicanism got a foothold in the very heart of Puritan New England, and the establishment of St. James' Parish, Great Barrington, the first Anglican parish in what is now the Diocese of Western Massachusetts, is a part of this historic endeavor.

KING CHARLES II TO THE RESCUE

Complaints reached King Charles II upon his restoration to the throne in 1660 that

Massachusetts had enacted laws making it a penal offence to use the Prayer Book, forbidding the observance of Christmas, reserving to civil magistrates the right of performing the marriage ceremony, and restricting the vote to members of the Congregational Church. The king wrote to the General Court of the colony in 1662, "Since the principal end and foundation of the charter was and is, that freedom (i.e. liberty of conscience) . . . Wee do hereby charge and require you, that that freedom and liberty be duly admitted and allowed, so that such as desire to use the Booke of Common Prayer, and perform their devotions in that manner, as is established here, be not denied the exercise thereof."

The General Court, however, did nothing to improve matters, and when a Royal Commission arrived in Boston in 1664 to investigate the state of affairs in the colony, their chaplain, though he used the Prayer Book, was arbitrarily forbidden to wear a surplice. The Commissioners reported that it was "scandalous, that any person should be debarred the exercise of his religion according to the laws and customs of England, by those who were indulged with the liberty of being of what profession or religion they pleased." They also reported that the Congregationalists "will not admit any one who is not a member of their church to the Communion, nor their Children to baptisme . . . Those whom they will not admit to the Communion they compell to come to their sermons, by forcing 5 s(hillings) from them for every neglect, yet these men thought their own paying of 12d (12 pence or 1 shilling) for not coming to prayers in England was an insupportable tyranny, and they yet constantly pray for their persecuted brethren in England."

The king was much displeased, but the fall of the Earl of Clarendon's Government at that time prevented any remedial action. In 1676, however, Charles II sent another investigator, Edward Randolph, and his report revealed such a state of disobedience to the king's commands, infringement of royal prerogatives, and suppression of the rights of English subjects, that the king began legal proceedings to terminate the charter of the colony, and this was done in 1684. At that time there was not a single parish of the Church of England in all five of the colonies that made

up New England. Under the first royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros, this was soon to change.

KING'S CHAPEL IN BOSTON

In 1686 an English priest, Robert Ratcliff, arrived in Boston commissioned by the Bishop of London (in whose jurisdiction the English colonies were considered to lie) to serve in New England, and he brought with him Prayer Books, books of Canon Law and homilies (sermons), and Articles of Religion which were sent to New England by the Privy Council of Charles II. Ratcliffe asked for the use of one of the three Meeting Houses in Boston, but was refused. Instead, he held services according to the Prayer Book in one end of the Town Hall. As these facilities were inadequate, money was raised to build King's Chapel. The Puritan leaders, however, were determined to do nothing to help this Anglican intrusion into their territory. When Judge Samuel Sewall was asked to sell the site they wanted for the Church, he stoutly refused, "because I would not set up that which the People of New England came over to avoid," and reasserted the Puritan objection to certain Anglican customs such as the use of the cross in baptism and the observance of Holy Days.

A burial according to the Prayer Book in 1689 was prevented by a riot and the newly-built King's Chapel daubed with mud. In addition to irresponsible threats of future destruction, the worship of the Chapel was condemned as wicked. The great Increase Mather published a book entitled *The Unlawfulness of Common Prayer Worship*, in which he declared the liturgy of the Church of England to be little short of idolatrous and likened the corporate nature of it to "broken Responds and shreds of Prayer which the Priests and People toss between them like Tennis Balls." Edward Randolph subsequently wrote home to England that this book succeeded in making "all of us of the Church obnoxious to the Common People

* See Thomas E. Jessett, "Planting the Prayer Book in Puritan Massachusetts" in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* of the Episcopal Church, Vol. XXI, No. 3, September, 1952, pp 300-406.

who account us Papists & treat us accordingly."

As King's Chapel continued its steady round of services, it became the target also of the redoubtable Cotton Mather, who in an election sermon in 1690 declared: "Let all mankind know, That we came into the wilderness, because we would worship God without Episcopacy, that Common Prayer, and those unwarrantable Ceremonies, which the land of our Father's Sepulchres, has been defiled with . . . Let us not so much as Touch the unclean Thing."

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE GUARANTEED

The new Royal Charter of Massachusetts of 1691 provided liberty of conscience to all Christians—except Papists, who were still regarded as potential Quislings—and King William III personally gave an annuity of 100 pounds and a valuable library to King's Chapel, Boston. Despite these legal guarantees and signs of royal favor, however, it was many years before the handful of Anglicans in New England succeeded in enjoying their charter rights. At the close of the seventeenth century, King's Chapel, with two priests, 120 communicants, and 600 baptized members, was the only Church of England parish in New England. But the fortunes of Anglicanism in this portion of God's vineyard were destined to improve in the course of the following century. This was partly because the Age of Reason produced a climate of opinion more favorable to toleration, and partly because of the heroic endeavors of a missionary society that was chartered by William III on June 16, 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, later commonly known as the "S.P.G.," the "Venerable Society," and the "Propagation Society." This claims our attention because the S.P.G. had so much to do with the founding of the first parish of what is now the Diocese of Western Massachusetts, and nurturing it in its early years.

DR. BRAY AND THE S.P.G.

The founder of the S.P.G. was Thomas Bray, a native of Shropshire, educated at All Souls, Oxford, and a priest of the Church of England. In 1696 he received appointment as the Bishop of London's Commissary for Maryland. Although he spent little time in America, this post led him to appreciate the hardship of life in the New World and the difficulties of recruiting English priests for colonial service. At first he attacked the problem of the lack of books and libraries in America and assiduously gathered money and books to send overseas. By 1698 Bray had raised nearly 2,500 pounds which he spent on libraries sent not only to each parish in Maryland, but also to places as widely separated as Charleston, S.C., Barbados, Cape Coast Castle (South Africa), and Bengal. In 1699 he began the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge with its chief object to continue the work that Bray had begun. And the S.P.C.K., as it is

familiarly known, even after more than 275 years is still the most important and effective agency of the Anglican Church in the realm of publishing and distributing books.

Next Bray turned his attention to the problem of obtaining English priests for service in the New World. Being persuaded that the chief obstacle was inadequate financial support, he established the S.P.G. with the object of providing the needed assistance. Founded in 1701 (and still in existence) the S.P.G. took hold immediately. By 1741 it had built nearly 100 churches and sent abroad over 10,000 Prayer Books and Bibles, and over 100,000 pious tracts. In 1714 it sent some theological books to Yale College. In 1733 it was instrumental in persuading George Berkeley (then Dean of Derry in Ireland) to give a thousand-volume library to Yale. Harvard, too, was the recipient of several gifts from the S.P.G. in 1748 and again in 1764 following the destruction of Harvard Hall together with the College Library by fire. Even more important was its extraordinary success in procuring missionary priests for the colonies. Between 1701 and the outbreak of the American Revolution, the S.P.G. sent to America and provided support for no fewer than 353 Anglican priests. Included among them were Solomon Palmer, who was the first priest to hold services and administer sacraments according to the Prayer Book in Great Barrington; Thomas Davies, the priest who organized what is now St. James' Parish in 1762; Ebenezer Punderson, Roger Viets, and Richard Mansfield who ministered here occasionally in the years 1762-69; and Gideon Ostwick, who was the first rector of the parish.

THE S.P.G. SOUNDS OUT MASSACHUSETTS

In 1702 the S.P.G. sent two priests, George Keith and Patrick Gordon, to America to ascertain the state of the Church in the colonies. Gordon died soon afterwards and his place was taken by John Talbot, the chaplain of the ship in which they came. While in Massachusetts they visited a number of towns, and Keith reported to the S.P.G. that everywhere they went they found that the people were "generally well affected" and "did generally join with us decently in the Liturgy, and Publick Prayer, and Administration of the Holy Sacraments, after the Usage of the Church of England." Many people earnestly desired them to request the Society to send priests to them. Many others "who had been wholly strangers to the Way of the Church of England" were so favorably impressed by its liturgy that they "declared their great Satisfaction and Esteem they had (for it) far above whatever they could observe (in) other ways of worship known to them." As a result, the S.P.G. immediately began to send missionary priests to Massachusetts, and before long there were Anglican parishes in Braintree and Marblehead as well as Boston, and also, several in Rhode Island and Connecticut.

PURITAN OPPOSITION TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The steady growth of the Church of England excited considerable alarm among the Congregationalists who found "that some of the ceremonies were camels too big for them . . . to swallow," but their opposition was ineffectual. In view of the liberty of worship guaranteed by the Royal Charter of 1691, the most they could do was to hinder as long as possible the struggle by the Anglicans to obtain exemption from paying taxes to support the established Congregational Church. The royal governors issued order after order to prevent such taxation, but local officials usually ignored them and hence the Anglican parishes were put to the expense and delay of carrying their cases through the courts. A test case of 1733 which went through three colonial courts with the right of appeal denied was taken before the King-in-Council whereupon the lower court decisions were reversed. Thereafter the Massachusetts General Court yielded and granted tax relief to Anglicans. A colonial act of 1735 exempted all Anglicans living within five miles of a Church of England from paying taxes to support a Congregational minister. With this obstacle out of the way, the Church entered a period of steady growth. Between 1722 and 1735 the number of Anglican parishes in Massachusetts grew from four to nine. During the years 1736 to 1768, the number increased from nine to nineteen (including Great Barrington and Lanesborough). In 1768 there were twelve Anglican priests settled in the colony, and no fewer than eight of them were American-born. The Church of England had not only come to Massachusetts, it had become domesticated here.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN CONNECTICUT

The Church made its appearance in Connecticut even later than in Massachusetts, but for a variety of reasons made a more spectacular advance there. George Keith, reporting to the S.P.G. in 1702, said that Connecticut had 33 towns and a population of 30,000 all of whom were Dissenters. What he meant was that there were no Anglican churches. But it appears that there were in that colony many who were favorably disposed to the Prayer Book. In 1708 the colonial Assembly granted the benefits of the English Toleration Act of 1689 to certain people, provided they would continue to pay tithes to the Congregational Church. The year before, in 1707, an Anglican Church was begun at Stratford, but it failed to secure a settled priest until 1723, when Samuel Johnson, one of the "Yale Converts," became its first rector. The event which rocked New England Puritanism took place the previous year.

THE YALE FACULTY GOES ANGLICAN IN 1722

Timothy Cutler, a Congregational minister and president of Yale College, and Daniel Brown, the only other member of the faculty, together with several nearby ministers, in-

cluding Samuel Johnson and James Wetmore, after having studied the Prayer Book and read Anglican works of divinity, announced to the trustees of the College on Thursday, September 13, 1722, that "some of us doubt the validity, and the rest of us are more fully persuaded of the invalidity of the Presbyterian (i.e. Congregational) ordination, in opposition to the Episcopal," and expressed their intention of going to England in quest of Anglican Holy Orders. As Yale College had been founded as a citadel of Puritan orthodoxy because Harvard was thought to be too liberal, this incident was a bolt out of the blue. On receipt of the news in Boston a fast was held in Old North Meeting House, and after Cotton Mather preached a sermon, his father, Increase, bewailed "the Connecticut Apostacie."

CHRIST CHURCH, STRATFORD

On their return from England in priest's orders, Timothy Cutler became Rector of Christ Church, Boston, and Samuel Johnson, Rector of Christ Church, Stratford, Connecticut, where he remained for many years until, in 1754, he became President of King's College (now Columbia University) in New York. In the years that Johnson was at Stratford, Christ Church Parish was the vital center of Anglican influence in Connecticut and western Massachusetts. Of special interest to our story was the handsome new church built there in 1742 which served as the model for the first church of the Great Barrington Parish, built in 1764 and also called Christ Church.

RAPID GROWTH OF ANGLICANISM AFTER 1747

The double tithe on Anglicans in Connecticut—that is, the necessity of their having to support the Congregational minister as well as their own priest—proved to be a hindrance to the growth of the Church. But a petition in 1727 resulted in the Assembly granting tax relief to Anglicans. Thereafter the Church of England made remarkable strides in Connecticut. By 1742 there were fourteen Anglican parishes and seven priests. By the beginning of the Revolution the number had grown to forty churches and twenty priests. The strength of the Church of England in Connecticut and the fact that Berkshire County, Massachusetts enjoyed an easier access to the sea down the Housatonic Valley rather than across the Berkshire Barrier to Boston, help to explain why the first two Anglican parishes in Western Massachusetts were Great Barrington (1762) and Lanesborough (1767)—both of them on the Housatonic River—and why their early priests came to them from the Diocese of Connecticut rather than from the Diocese of Massachusetts until after the beginning of the nineteenth century.

By the middle of the eighteenth century there was little difference in the external appearance of an Anglican Church and a Puritan Meeting House in New England. But

Colonial Anglicans At Worship



The interior of a Georgian church c. 1750 showing a service in progress. Note the Communion plate on the altar, the three-decker pulpit, and the vestments of the priest.

a striking difference was apparent immediately as one entered the door. The Puritan Meeting House was primarily an auditorium for preaching in which the pulpit was the center of attraction, whereas the Anglican Church was designed for liturgical worship and for the administration of sacraments as well as for the reading and preaching of the Word. In Anglican usage a church was thought of as consisting of two quite distinct sections, the chancel and the nave—and this was so whether or not there was a visible division, such as a chancel screen, between them. The chancel, which symbolized paradise, was the portion of the sacred edifice east of the screen in which the Holy Eucharist was celebrated and the risen Lord sacramentally received. The nave, on the other hand, symbolized the world: in it were the rank and file of the people, and there the Word was read and preached, children were catechized, daily prayers recited, and Holy Baptism administered.

In the larger English churches which retained their solid medieval rood screens separating chancel and nave, it was not uncommon for the Eucharist to be celebrated at

the high altar in the chancel at the same time a service or catechism was being held in the nave. In the simple little churches of colonial America this was impossible, but the Anglicans here retained their rigid concept of the two separate compartments into which the church was divided. Following English practice, many seventeenth-century and so some early eighteenth-century American churches were provided with simple, chancel screens, solid for three feet or so, with slender turned ballisters above, supporting an ornate cornice. These screens declined in popularity after 1700, but even when they were omitted, the liturgical distinction between chancel and nave was preserved, and often architectural recognition was given to it by the use of a six-inch step in the aisle where the rood screen would have been.

Two and Three-Deckers

The pulpit and reading desk, unlike modern practice which generally places them on opposite sides of the aisle, were almost always placed together in colonial days. Not only were they combined into a single unit—

known as a "two-decker"—but an additional desk at a lower level was occasionally added for the Parish Clerk (or Lay Reader as we should call him) who led the congregational responses in the liturgy. Hence, the so-called "three-decker" emerged and gradually replaced its less pretentious antecedent. The location of the pulpit was generally on one side of the nave—often against the north or south wall. So rigid was the Anglican concept of the division between chancel and nave, however, that two or three-deckers were sometimes placed in the central aisle directly in front of the altar, as for example, in Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island (built in 1725). This showed no disrespect to the altar, because the altar was held to be in a separate part of the church, not to be confused with the nave. In a small church, too, the central aisle was often the only place where the large three-decker could be put without blocking the view of the altar from the nave pews. This was especially true of churches with side as well as a rear gallery. This location of the pulpit was an innovation after the restoration of Charles II when Sir Christopher Wren was trying to modify traditional designs in order to produce a church in which a large number of people could see and hear and participate in the liturgy of the Prayer Book. These novel ideas made little headway against English conservatism until late in the following century when the Evangelical Movement placed unprecedented emphasis upon preaching. Quite unknown in colonial Anglican churches was the practice of the Congregationalists of placing the pulpit in the center of the east wall behind the altar. This would have violated their ingrained concept of the separation of chancel from nave and would have been considered an irreverence to the altar. This practice was introduced after 1780 by innovators, but belongs to the period

of liturgical debasement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The pulpit, reading desk, and clerk's desk in English churches were often fitted with candlesticks as well as shelves for sermon notes and for the folio Prayer Book and Bible used for the service. They also had seats for priest and clerk, and sometimes a wig stand. Over the pulpit there was usually a tester or sounding board, often a thing of beauty, topped with a decorative finial. The pulpit and often the reading desk as well was covered with a large cushion decorated with tassels and a hanging or valance called a "pulpit cloth". Crimson was, perhaps, the favorite color, but there are examples of purple, blue, red, and even cloth-of-gold pulpit cloths in colonial churches.

Seating Accommodations

There were two kinds of pews: box pews and the bench-like "slip pews" that have now become almost universal. Box pews were high and usually fitted with doors intended to protect the occupants from cold drafts in the unheated churches. The height of the pews helps to explain the popularity of the high pulpits even in small churches: the worshippers wished to see as well as hear the preacher, hence he had to be elevated. The presence of the galleries also made it desirable to have a high pulpit. Inside the box

pews seats ran around the sides, presumably, so that foot-warmers could be conveniently placed in the center of each pew in winter. Also the fact that Anglican churches had three liturgical centers—font, altar, and pulpit—and that they seldom coincided, meant that in most churches the people faced one way for a baptism, another way for the Eucharist, and yet another way for the sermon. Slip pews or "forms" placed at the back of the church and in the galleries were regarded as less desirable than box pews and were frequently assigned to servants, children, and strangers. They had narrow seats, straight backs, kneeling boards (instead of hassocks), and sometimes narrow wooden bookrests fastened to the pew in front. A great disadvantage was that they could not be effectively heated by a foot-warmer in winter.

The small size of colonial churches and the rapidity with which population increased put a premium on space and forced vestries to devise means of enlarging the seating accommodations. This was done first by adding galleries, and then by building additions to the church. It was not uncommon two centuries ago to find the interior of a colonial Anglican church cluttered with high box pews and galleries on three sides. These, together, with a chancel screen or with a large three-decker structure gave the interior a very different character and feeling from our churches today. The west gallery both in England and the colonies was the favorite place for organs and for choirs. Organs were common in English cathedrals and abbeys in the Middle Ages and became more common in parish churches until the triumph of the Puritans under Oliver Cromwell, when there was a systematic destruction of church organs because the Puritans thought it wrong to use musical instruments in the services of the church. After the restoration in 1660 organs were again placed in English churches. By 1714 virtually all the churches and chapels in London had them and used them to accompany the singing of the Psalms and to play voluntaries as the people entered and left the church. Because of poverty American churches were slow to acquire organs, but after 1713 when King's Chapel, Boston obtained one, the number grew apace.

The font was one of the traditional ornaments of Anglican worship. One of the Canons of 1604 required that the font should be provided in every church and chapel and that it should "be set up in the ancient usual place", which is at the west end of the church near the door as a reminder that entrance into the Church was by Holy Baptism. This was generally done, but the smallness of colonial churches and the premium on space sometimes dictated a departure from ancient practice and led to the font being placed in the chancel rather than at the opposite end of the church.

Colonial Altars

At the beginning of the seventeenth century a common practice of the English Church was to move the table-form altar into the aisle of the chancel when the sacrament was to be celebrated and place it with its long axis east

and west, the celebrant standing on the north side of it. Out of service time the holy table was required by the Canons of 1604 to be placed altar-wise at the east end. This was the result of a compromise reached under Queen Elizabeth I between the opposing views of Puritans and High Churchmen. So long as this remained the custom, altars had to be in table form and of wood so as to be portable. It was also inexpedient to have altar rails, for the entire chancel was the sanctuary. Under the vigorous leadership of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury 1633-44, this was forcibly abolished, and the more conventional medieval practice restored. Communion tables were thereafter permanently kept altar-wise at the east end of churches and railed in to force communicants to receive the sacrament kneeling and to protect the holy place from desecration by Puritans who, objecting to the idea that any material object could be holy, were reputed to cast up their churchwarden's accounts on the altar out of service time or to use it as a desk in the parish school on weekdays. The Laudian liturgical reform met violent opposition in England and was lost during the Puritan ascendancy under Cromwell. But it enjoyed a complete victory after the restoration of Charles II and has ever since been the norm of Anglican worship. Altars permanently set up at the east end and no longer required to be portable, grew larger and heavier, and were once again built of stone. Durham Cathedral's new altar in 1617 was of marble. Worcester acquired a stone one in 1634. After 1660 they were increasingly common, although the earliest known example in this country is the stone altar of St. Paul's Chapel, New York, installed in 1788.

Another example of Laudian influence was the use of architectural settings to give honor and dignity to the altar: an exquisitely carved reredos or altar piece, special marble pavement in the sanctuary, and an ornamental canopy above it, or, at least, special treatment of the ceiling over the altar. The last two practices were used in contemporary Anglican churches in New York and Charleston. Smaller country churches were content to set off the altar with steps, a panelled dado around or behind the sanctuary, and simple, carved altar pieces.

Adorning the Altar

Even if poverty or the lack of skilled craftsmen compelled colonial Anglicans to worship in modest churches in the American wilderness, nothing prevented them from beautifying the altar and pulpit so as to give outward and visible honor to the Sacrament and the Word. No Anglican altar, whether carved marble or a simple wooden table, could lawfully be left uncovered during service time. Canon Law, as revised in 1604, enshrining an unbroken custom of great antiquity, required that the altar be "covered in time of divine Service with a Carpet of Silke or other decent stuffe." This was the frontal which not only covered the top of the holy table but came down to the floor on all sides of it. In the seventeenth century it generally

hung loose and full at the corners, and is now known as a Laudian or Jacobean frontal. In the eighteenth century this gradually gave way to the fitted variety, straight at the sides, which was more in keeping with the symmetry and regularity of Georgian style. These frontals were of the finest materials: silk, damask, velvet, with contrasting "panes" or orphreys and fringe of silver or gold. Many churches in the Mother Country preserved a simple color sequence, though a poor one. Red was used throughout most of the year except in Lent when black was substituted. But we know that some colonial churches had hangings of green, some of purple, and at least one had a cloth-of-gold pulpit hanging as early as 1698. Black was also used for the Burial Office. A contemporary account of Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg, in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1770 on the occasion of the funeral of the royal governor, Lord Botetourt, said: "At the western gate the corpse was removed from the hearse, and, carried by eight bearers, the Gentlemen appointed supporting the pall, placed in the centre of the church, on a carpet of black. The altar, pulpit, and his Excellency's seat, were likewise hung with black."

Altar candlesticks, two of which were commonly found in English churches of the period, must have been rare in the colonies, for they do not appear in the vestry books that have survived. But colonial altars were probably decorated with almsbasins placed upright against the reredos in the middle of the altar (where we should place an altar cross today). This practice reflected the theological emphasis that the seventeenth-century English divines placed upon the "oblation", or offering of oneself along with the alms and the bread and wine to God in the Eucharist. Colonial altars were also enriched by beautifully-bound prayer books and richly-covered cushions on each end to hold the altar book before the Epistle and after the Gospel at Holy Communion.

Anglican Ceremonial

Canon Law and Anglican custom sanctioned the use of simple but dignified ceremonial in worship. These ceremonies—especially the use of the sign of the cross in baptism and the ring in marriage—were severely attacked by the Puritans who opposed them as either corrupt or giving countenance to the idea that material objects are holy. The Church of England stood its ground on these two, but partially curtailed other ceremonies in a vain attempt to mollify the Non-conformists. But since moderation failed to keep them within the Church, the policy of self-restraint was given up after the restoration of Charles II and the Church wholeheartedly revived and enjoyed such of its ancient ceremony as it considered did not tend to superstition or exemplify erroneous doctrine. For one thing, the Puritan custom of entering church with hats on was forbidden for men (but required for women). Another custom was "reverencing" (that is, bowing the head towards) the altar upon entering or leaving a church. Along with this was the

practice of making a similar reverence at the mention of the Holy Name. The 1604 Canons ordered that when "the Lord JESUS shalbe mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall bee done by all persons present as it hath bene accustomed". Priests and people also turned to the east at the Creed and at the Gloria Patri (Glory be to the Father, etc.) after the Psalms and canticles at Matins and Evensong. At the Eucharist all sat for the liturgical Epistle, stood for the Gospel, and knelt to receive the sacrament. Sitting for prayers was regarded as an odious Puritan practice forbidden by canon law which required "all manner of persons . . . reverently to kneele upon their knees when the General Confession, Letany, and other Prayers are read, and stand up at the saying of the Beleeve," i.e. the Creed. All these outward ceremonies, the canons asserted, testify to the worshippers' "inward humilitie, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgement that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true and eternal Sonne of God, is the only Saviour of the World, in whom alone all the Mercies, Graces, and Promises of God to mankind for this life and the life to come are fully and wholly Comprised."

A word ought to be said about the keeping of Sunday in the colonial period, as this was a bone of contention between Anglicans and Puritans. The traditional view was that every Sunday was a great Holy Day, the weekly remembrance of our Lord's Resurrection. In Anglican practice, therefore, it was a feast day, a day of rejoicing and recreation, after one had gone to church. The Puritans, on the other hand, influenced by the Old Testament Sabbath, believed in a solemn, joyless Sunday, and tried to force their views on others. Both James I in 1618 and Charles I in 1633 issued declarations forbidding local magistrates from debarring the people from lawful recreations on Sunday after church time. Sundays, being feast days, were to refresh "the meaner sort who labour hard all the week" no less than to worship God. After the end of divine service, therefore, the king commanded that "our good people be not disturbed, letted (hindered) or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances; and the setting up of May-poles." Needless to say, this was distasteful to the Puritans who in England chafed under Anglican doctrine supported by the crown, but who in New England had the upper hand themselves. Hence a colonial Sunday here was much more nearly what the Puritans thought it ought to be. Anglicans were never numerous enough in New England to defy convention openly. In Virginia where they were in the saddle, Sundays were observed in a much gayer fashion, so as to give rise among the evangelical dissenters to charges of worldliness and loose conduct levelled at Church of England folk because they thought it proper to dance, play cards, and race their horses on the Sabbath Day.

Stepping Into The Past

If one were to step back, after the fashion of

Mark Twain's *Connecticut Yankee*, to the late colonial period and attend an Anglican church on a Sunday morning in the year of our Lord 1776, here is about what he would experience. As the intending worshipper arrived at the church, he would find a little group of parishioners gathered in the churchyard exchanging greetings and news while their servants or sons fastened the reins of the horses to nearby trees. From the belfry would sound the familiar tone of the bell being rung by the sexton as a signal that divine service was about to begin. If the people continued to dawdle, the church-warden or parish clerk might come out to summon them to enter.

Priest's Habit or Street Attire

The parish priest would arrive in his ordinary habit (or street attire) which consisted of a long cassock, sash, gown, tippet (or long, full, black scarf), and soft black Square Cap, or more likely, he may have substituted a black cocked hat for his canonical square cap and a black or grey coat for his priest's gown, in which case he would wear a shortened or tucked-up cassock so that he might more easily ride a horse. He would also wear a wig and "bands"—a soft, white, linen neckcloth (later starched to become the modern clerical collar) with two pendant tabs. This was worn by the other learned professions—lawyers, physicians, and schoolmasters. Though long since given up by the laity today (except English barristers and Scottish advocates), they have left their legacy to the secular world in the word "bandbox".



A priest in his "canonical habit" or street attire: cassock, cincture, bands, cap and priest's gown.

All-Encompassing Surplice

The parish priest would remove his hat, enter the church, and walk informally down the aisle, pausing perhaps to greet parishioners and inquire of ill relatives. Upon reaching the Rector's Pew, he would lay aside

Church Music

his gown and put on his surplice which was normally kept in an oak chest in the chancel. This linen garment was the principal Anglican vestment in colonial days. In the seventeenth century it was the object of Puritan wrath, and derisively called a "rag of Popery". In the eighteenth, when much of the rancor had subsided, the Congregationalists still disliked the surplice and half-humorously referred to it as a "Canterbury nightgown". Although unknown in the Eastern Orthodox Church, the surplice was universally used in the Western Latin Church. It was derived about one thousand years ago from the tight-fitting alb, by being cut full so that it might be worn over fur garments in the cold stone churches of the Middle Ages, hence its name is derived from "super pellicaea", meaning "over-the-furs". From its earliest appearance until late in the nineteenth century the surplice was long and full, being made of twelve or more yards of material. In the late seventeenth century when the clergy took to wearing large wigs, the cut of the surplice was altered by being slit up the front and provided with buttons, so the priest could more easily put it on and take it off in the chancel in full view of the congregation without disarranging his wig. After the clergy gave up wigs in the early nineteenth century, the surplice gradually regained its historic form without front opening or buttons. But it later fell before the practical necessity and the schemes of clerical tailors who have reduced an ancient and comely garment to the short, skimpy, "sausage skin" variety that we commonly see today.

Having put on his surplice and possibly also an academic hood and tippet, the priest now began Matins with a loud voice, which is the service known to modern Episcopalians as Morning Prayer. The Parish Clerk (or Lay Reader as we should call him today) also in cassock, bands, surplice, and wig, occupied a reading pew adjacent to and often just below the rector's pew, and led the congregational responses for the benefit of those who had no prayer book or could not read. If the church did not have an organ, the parish clerk usually "pitched" the tune for the Psalms.



A priest "decently habited" for a service: cassock, long, flowing surplice, bands, hood and black tippet.

As the Prayer Book has changed very little since that day, except for the substitution of prayers for the President rather than the King, the worshipper would detect almost no difference in the ritual (that is, the words used in the service), but he would be struck by the difference in ceremony (that is, the actions used in connection with worship) and in the music of the church. Only a few colonial churches had organs, and those few did not sing the hymns that are so familiar to us today. Hymns went out with the Reformation and returned only gradually in the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries music was chiefly used as a setting for the liturgy (especially the Psalms), for anthems, and for organ voluntaries. To facilitate the congregational singing of the Psalms, they were translated into metrical versions. The first such version in England was by Sternhold and Hopkins in 1562. They were of poor quality—Queen Elizabeth called them "Geneva jigs"—but they became dear to the hearts of generations of Church people.

An example of this version is the Twenty-third Psalm:

The Lord is only my support,
and he that doth me feed:
How can I then lack any thing
whereof I stand in need?
In pastures green he feedeth me,
where I do safely lie:
And after leads me to the streams
which run most pleasantly.

Thou has my table richly spread
in presence of my foe:
Thou hast my head with balm refresh'd,
my cup doth over flow.
And finally while breath doth last,
thy grace shall me defend:
And in the house of God will I
my life for ever spend.

Late in the seventeenth century, in 1696, a new version of the Psalms by King William's chaplain-in-ordinary, Nicholas Brady, and the poet laureate, Nahum Tate, appeared. This "New Version", as it was known, was greatly superior to the Sternhold-Hopkins translation. But the "Old Version" continued to be favored by the common folk and ran through several hundred editions, the last in the middle of the nineteenth century. During the eighteenth, Tate and Brady's version fought an uphill battle against its predecessor, only to succumb in due course to the rising tide of hymnody in the following century.

Another notable difference would be the absence of a vested choir preceded by a crucifer, now so invariable a part of Anglican Sunday services. Until the late eighteenth century vested choirs were only to be found in cathedrals and college chapels, but not in English parish churches. The normal parish choir in colonial days was composed of men, women, and children who sat in their street clothes in the west gallery near the organ. Our modern practice is largely the result of the Tractarian Movement of the 1840's.

After Matins, the priest read the Litany, and then proceeded to the Ante-Communion

(the portion of the Communion service that came before the confession and consecration). If there were to be no sacrament, he concluded the service at this point with the blessing. The Reformers of the sixteenth century had intended to make Holy Communion the principal service every Sunday, but this represented such a radical departure from the infrequent communion habits of the medieval people that it failed. The English practice was to require all communicants to receive the sacrament at least three times a year, of which Easter was to be one, and to encourage it more frequently. Most parish churches in the eighteenth century celebrated Holy Communion four, eight, or twelve times a year. Even when there was no celebration, the Sunday service was much longer than we are accustomed to, and included the selection from the Psalter and the Old and New Testament lessons from Matins as well as the liturgical Epistle and Gospel for the day.

The Homily or Sermon

After the blessing, the priest removed his surplice, put on his gown and possibly his hood—especially if he held a doctor of divinity degree from Oxford or Cambridge—and ascended the narrow stairs leading to the high, wine-glass pulpit so characteristic of the time. The sermon or "homily" was introduced not by the invocation so common today, but by the Bidding Prayer prescribed by the 55th of the Canons of 1604. This began "Ye shall pray for Christ's holy Catholike Church", and went on to specify other objects of prayer—the king, the queen, other members of the royal family, the Privy Council, nobility, magistrates, and Commons of the realm, "all those which are departed out of this life in the Faith of Christ", and finally that "we may have grace to direct our lives after their good example", and "this life ended, wee may be made partakers with them of the glorious Resurrection in the life Everlasting". The Bidding Prayer always concluded with the Lord's Prayer said by all present.

The typical colonial sermon is unlikely to appeal to the modern churchman. It was generally very long, heavily freighted with quotations from Scripture and the early Fathers of the Church, and usually read verbatim from carefully prepared notes. The glorious good news of the Gospel was not lost, but it was heavily overlaid with scholarship. Our colonial ancestors had stronger stomachs than modern congregations for long and meaty sermons, and they would have been deeply offended if the preacher gave them nothing more than a fifteen-minute extemporaneous discourse that lacked the marks of profound learning the "smell of the lamp", as they called late hours of study.

Three other differences would be noticed by the modern worshipper in a colonial church. The favorite modern practice of gathering and presenting alms at the altar at Morning Prayer was conspicuously lacking two centuries ago. Alms were received as part of the "offertory" in the Eucharist and every set of communion silver included an alms basin. But, apart from the Eucharist, it would not have occurred to a colonial priest to take up a

collection (unless for some special purpose) or to present the alms at the altar during Matins. The Church was supported by tithes and by subscriptions. Apart from the ceremonial presentation of alms along with the oblations in Holy Communion, alms were rarely gathered in church except in the form of money put in the poor box with no liturgical or musical accompaniment. The second difference was that flowers were not then used on the altar. Greens were employed to decorate the church at Christmas and flowers at Easter and other festivals, but they were hung about the walls in garlands, not placed in vases on the altar. It must be remembered that altars were then covered with rich frontals of silk and velvet and needed no flowers to beautify them. The use of plain and bare altars in the nineteenth century led people instinctively to correct the offence by putting flowers on them. The third difference is that brass and other inferior metals were not then used on Anglican altars. Communion plate was always of gold, silver-gilt, or sterling silver, the last being almost universal in the colonies. Poor churches occasionally used pewter as a temporary makeshift, but in general before the Industrial Revolution anything less than pure silver was regarded as unworthy of a decent and proper worship of Almighty God.

Ex Dono M. Merritt Sr
To P. Adams

Ex Dono M. Merritt Sr

Ex Dono M. Merritt Sr



Mr. SEABURY'S Sermon.



Seabury, Samuel. A sermon preach'd
at New-London, Sunday, the 21st
of February, Anno Domini, 1741.
1742. WATK. BRINLEY BX5937
.S4 1742

A
SERMON

Preach'd at

New-London,

SUNDAY

The 21st of February, Anno Domini,
1741, 2.

Published at the Desire of some who heard it.

By Samuel Seabury,

Missionary from the Society for propagating the Gospel
in foreign Parts.

N. L O N D O N,
Printed and Sold by T. GREEN, 1742



St. LUKE, VIII. 13.

But that on the good Ground, are they, which in an honest and good heart, having heard the Word keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience.

THIS Manner of preaching in the primitive Church was to Expound, and apply the Epistles, and Gospels, read each Day in the Communion Service; which Custom very much prevail'd in the beginning of the Reformation; and in Compliance therewith I have chosen my Text out of the Gospel for this Day.

These words are the Close of our Blessed Lord's Parable of the Sower, To the Reading of which I hope you have now Devoutly attended, and still bear it upon your Minds; In which you may observe, that the Different Success of the Seed, is owing to the Different Qualities of the Ground.

A 2

11. 1. These

[2]

1. *† Those by the way side, represents men whose hearts are open to the Suggestions of Satan; who are easily perswaded, that Religion is all an Artifice, to keep the world in Awe, and that tho some homage were due to God, it can never be Inconsistent with the Lust of the Flesh; so pleasing to human Nature, and to those high and haughty passions which (thro' the guile of Satan) are distinguished with the Name of Honour. — That the thoughts of Religion are melancholy thoughts, and unfit for the Gaieties of Youth, and inconsistent with that Figure which is becoming men of Fortune. — All such conceits as weakens the Authority of God's word, and abates the Concern, which That tends to beget in the mind for it self, is the work of Satan, to take away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be Saved.*

2. *¶ They on the Rock are they, which when they hear, receive the word with Joy; and these have no root, which for a while believe, and in time of temptation fall away. This represents those who looking upon the smooth side of Christianity, are pleased with the gracious Promises of the Gospel, and being transported with the thoughts of its glad Tidings, too easily apply*

† Ver. 12. ¶ Ver. 13,

the

[3]

the same to themselves, but having no root, no real Change of mind, no Humiliation, nor Self-denial, after some Christian performance, their love of Ease, and the praise of Men, and worldly Peace, returns upon them; and they become offended at the strictness of Gospel Obedience.

3. *† That which fell among Thorns, are they, which when they have heard, go forth, & are choked with Care, & Riches & Pleasures of this Life and bring no fruit to perfection. Here those persons are represented, who tho' they hear the Word, still hold their Love to the world, and have their Hearts set upon Riches; their Affections are pre-engaged to time and the pleasures of time; and their love thereof suffocates and chokes the Seed of Eternal Life. They value more the Advantages that arise from their Earthly Cares, such as Power, Ambition and carnal Qualifications, than the Peace of Conscience, & the Pleasures which flow from the government of their unruly Passions, or a comfortable sense of being at peace with God. — And therefore you may be well assured, my Beloved, that as many of you as love the World above God and Religion; as many of you as are Gold, Lukewarm and Careless in the worship of God, and do not cherish with your*

† Ver. 14.

reflections

reflections the Impressions of God's Word upon your minds, while you are careful to embrace all possible Advantages of worldly Wealth, and to gratify your Pleasures; In a word, As many as rather have Diamonds than Humility; or the Showers of Rain on their Pastures, than the Enlivening refreshing Dew of divine Grace on their Souls, are all unfruitful Hearers. But then.

4. And lastly, My Text does clearly teach us, who are represented by the good ground which brings forth fruit; *That on the good ground are they, which in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience.* Good and honest Hearts are compared to good Ground. Now that Ground be good, and meet for the Seed, it must necessarily

1. Be prepared for the Seed.

2. It must be Secured, Tended and taken Care of.

1. The Ground must be prepared for the Seed — And so must the Heart, for the Reception of the Word of God: For the heart of man is by Nature as averted to the properties of divine Grace, as the uncultivated Earth

to

to the growth of useful Grain. And as the Ground must be broken, to receive the Seed, so the Heart must be broken to receive the word of God. The blessed Spirit, who is the principal Agent in the Spiritual Husbandry, must operate by its preventing Power and Efficacy, to make way for his own Authority in the Scriptures, whereby the Mind is led inward upon its self, to see its own inbred Pollution and Corruption. Thus the Spirit of God convinceth the world of Sin, and begets in the mind an awful Fear for its self, lest it corrupt and apostatize Nature, which prevails over the power of Reason, should also prevail over all the ordinary means of Grace provided by God for its Escape. The Mind then struggles with its Corruptions, and trieth the force of its own Ability, till it is convinced that nothing but the help of God can furnish it with a principle of Love and Obedience.

Our blessed Saviour tells us || *No man can come unto me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him.* Now this drawing of the Father, is by the secret Application of his Word and Providence, to awaken the Soul and beget attention in the Mind; and without this attention the Seed of God's Word will never take suitable Root in the heart. —

|| St. John 6. 44.

B

Thus

Thus you have often seen men absent in your Conversation; and when your Discourse has turned upon Subjects of the last and highest Importance to you, it has not attracted the attention of your Neighbour. Hark all the while Entering into his own Concerns; and has his mind so full'd with something else, that there's no kind of Impression made upon him. In like manner, if men sit under the Word of God without attention, tho' their Bodies may be present in the publick Assembly, yet their Hearts are absent; and then 'tis impossible they should receive the Seed of Spiritual Life.

You should therefore prepare your hearts, my Beloved, by humbly complaining before God, of your former captivity to the world, and hardness of heart; confess your weakness to withstand the disorder of your own Minds, and your Ignorance and backwardness in realizing the things of Eternity; and beg of God to beget in you a due Concern for those great things, which he has thought fit to Reveal from Heaven to Earth.

As the Ground must be made mellow, before the Seed will be admitted, so must the Heart be made soft; it must be ploughed by Humiliation, and Harrowed by Contrition, before Grace will be rooted there. Cast your Grain upon the hard

hard Ground, without Cultivation and Improvement, and will only become a prey to ravenous Birds. No more will God's Word take root in an hard Impenitent Heart. The Spirit must be broken, and the Affections cleansed of all the thorny Cares and Pleasures of this world, and the haughtiness of Pride must be brought low before divine Grace can rule the Soul.

2. For as the stony Ground must be made fruitful, by removing the Stones; and the thorny Ground by rooting up the Thorns, so we must beg of God, who is the great Husbandman of his Church, * to soften our hearts by his Providence and his Grace, and *take away our hearts of Stone, and give us hearts of Flesh*; † that his Word may take deep root and bear fruit.

2. The Ground where Seed is cast, must be Secured, Tended and taken care of : Not only that it be not trodden and rendred hard, nor devoured by Birds; but also that it be not destroyed in its Growth. So if the Word of God be spoken to persons, that not only easily admit every Temptation; but are careless in improving the good Purposes and Resolutions

* St. John, 15. 1. I am the true Vine, and my Father is the Husbandman. † Ezek, 11. 19.

which at any time are begot in their Minds, the fruit will become Abortive; For as good Ground must not be neglected, so neither must our Hearts; otherwise the Tempter by his easie admission, will nourish the growth and increase of worldly Cares and Pleasures upon the Mind, till all holy Desires are choked and destroyed. Watchfulness in keeping God's word, is therefore as necessary as attention in hearing : And these two our Lord himself joins together, as necessary to obtain his blessing, St. Luke 11. 28. *Yea rather blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.*

Now as keeping here signifieth Observing and Doing; so there's no making God's word the rule of our Obedience, but by preserving on our minds by Prayer and Fasting and other acts of Devotion, the full vigour of our Resolution, and an high Reverence thereunto.

Therefore my Brethren, if you had but as much trust in God's Word, as in his Providence; if you believed your Application to the means of Grace, would as surely conduce to your reaping Life Everlasting, as that the Culture and Improvement of your Ground, will to the Earths increase; you would be as much better Husbards for the increase of Grace, than of Corn, as your Souls are more precious than

than your Bodies; or Eternity of more value than Time. And until God by his Spirit, thro' the Ministry of his Word and Providence, doth awaken your attention to the things of an endless State, you'll never be disposed to receive the Seed of Eternal Life.

For until the Heart be affected with a Fear for it self, concerning Eternity, it has really nothing to do with Christianity : For Christianity is all a Dream and Delusion, unless there is an Heaven of Joy to be obtained, and an Eternal Hell to be avoided. And if our minds were fully possess'd with the reality of an Eternity of Felicity or Wo, the dispensation of the word of Life, would quicken within us, and take root, as the prolifick Seed doth in the fertile Soil.

The gospel Revelation is full of positive Declarations of such a State; and were our hearts but honest to receive *this Truth in the love of it*; the simplicity of the Gospel would find a more easie admission : but while we are swallow'd up with Temporal hopes, and forget that the *fashion of this world passeth away*, we are possess'd with an earthly Mind, and all our care is to lay up Treasures here : We are proud, and inspired with ambitious Thoughts, we are carnal, and thirst for the dozing, stupefying

pilying pleasures of Sense; and Devilish thro' the possession of the spirit of Malice, Hatred and Ill-will: In such a temper no man can with comfort behold that prospect of Eternity which the Gospel gives. And because a believing prospect thereof, must Alarm the Soul, therefore our own Corruptions, and the depravity of our Minds, assisted by the suggestions of Satan, find many Excuses to remove the present Concern: But until all these Obstacles be removed, and the Soul begins to feel its own Immortality, it will not be analogous to Ground sired and prepared for the Seed.

Since then the Success of the Gospel depends upon the preparation of the Heart, remember that *the preparation of the Heart, as well as the answer of the Tongue is from God*, * who often by his Providence & preventing Grace moves upon it, to fit it for the Authority of his Word, to quicken and awaken our Attention, and to stir us up to a due preparation for the heavenly Seed; therefore be admonished to invoke his gracious Assistance for that end, while you dispose your selves thereunto in some such method as the following.

1. Meditate often and seriously upon the awful state of Eternity, the Subject of St. Paul's

* Prov. 16. 1.

Sermon

Sermon that made *Felix tremble*, was *Righteousness, Temperance, and Judgment to come*. And the same Considerations may justly seize every habitual Sinner with the same Tremor. From which Meditations, it is the great Artifice of Satan to take off the Mind. But Eternity is a Fathomless Depth; 'tis a Line without Beginning or Ending: And it should be our greatest care by frequent Meditation, always to keep it in View, remembering that the consequences which depend upon our present Behaviour are all Eternal. That this Life is a Stage whereon we are transacting the vast and important Concerns that relate to Eternity. And therefore we should attend to the things that relate thereto, with the same Seriousness, as tho' we could see the things beyond the Grave, as plain as the things of Time. For tho' the god of this world may now blind the Mind, and we may loose sight of Eternity, yet Eternity! O Eternity! thou art truly as near as tho' we could behold thee with our Eyes, and as sure to swallow us up, as those that are now in thy Habitations. Let these Meditations be always impressed upon your minds, (with all the Scripture representations of Glory to the Saint, and Shame and Wo to the Sinner,) when you sit before God to hear his Word, and then you will be disposed to receive it, like good Seed into good Ground.

2. Prepare

2. Prepare your selves for the Publick Worship (where the Word of God is dispensed,) with Prayer and Fasting: And if you are sensible you have heretofore used the Means of Grace Hypocritically, and Vainly to be seen of men, or from a Self-righteous Principle to pay God a Debt, and not in Faith to wait upon him in his own Institutions; for his special Benediction and Grace, then humble your selves before him by Prayer and Fasting, that the Flesh may be subdued to the Spirit, and that you may thereafter be disposed to obey all godly Motions, in Righteousness and true Holiness. — Look over the Service of the Church, and Meditate seriously upon it in Private, there find your own case; as you may whatever it be, whether requisite & necessary either for Body or Soul; and be prepared to enforce it with the utmost Fervency & Zeal, Remembering that the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth Violence, and that the Violent take it by Force. But this leads me to my third Direction, which is,

3. That you attend the Publick Worship with desires of obtaining the Spirit of God, and the Increase of Grace, † For both our Faith and the Increase and Continuance of it, is the Gift of God. Join Fervency to your Humiliation; and never believe that you either are, or desire to

† Bishop of Soder and Man.

be, animated by the Holy Spirit of God, in your Devotions, if you don't feel a warmth of Affection and Fervency of mind to serve God to the uttermost of your Power; And be afraid for your selves, if you find a continual Slothfulness upon your spirits when you Pray, attended with perpetual Distractions of mind, without being Affected with what you are about. Call to mind therefore that most Divine Collect in the Entrance of our communion Service, *That God would cleanse the thoughts of your Hearts, by the Inspiration of his Holy Spirit, that you may bring a pure Offering of holy Desires;* and then look up to him with great Fervency, that he would send down the fire of Love to kindle the Sacrifice, †.

What we want of our God, is his Grace, and its Increase, Faith, Repentance and New Obedience, to be United to God by the Spirit of Adoption; and to be Renewed day by day in the Spirit of our Minds, to have a lively sense of his Presence with us continually; that we may trust in his Mercy, rejoice in his Providence, and be ever afraid to Offend him. And if we gain nothing of this by publick Prayer and the Ministry of God's Word; but bring from the

† Thy holy Unden from above, is Comfort, Life, and fire of Love. Book for ordaining Priests.

House

House of God all the Sensuality and Love of the World; all the Self-love, Pride, Ambition, and unruly Passions; all the Malice, Harred and Ill-will which we habitually Inquills; we do but provoke God to Cut us down as barren Trees in his Vineyard.

4. Join most Devoutly in the Prayers of the Church, and obediently attend the Directions of the Rubrick.

Particularly, Fall on your Knees at the Footstool of God, at all the parts of Devotion, which require that humble Posture; and as you fall, let your Humiliation of Soul be greater than that of your Bodies; by considering that the Displeasure of God for your Sins, might justly doom you to an Eternal Fall.

And being in this humble Posture, raise your Souls to God in humble Thanks, that you are permitted to Kneel before him; there call home every wandering Thought; And look that you attend seriously upon the Minister in his part; and join fervently with the Assembly in, Theirs, that wish one Mind and one Mouth you may glorify God.

And when you name the Name of Jesus Christ, as in the close of all the Prayers and Collects;

Collects, consider the *absolute necessity of a Repentance*, and that *thru* through Him only, you have Liberty to look Upwards to Cry, Abba, Father.

When the Spirit of God is Prayed for, and the Graces of his Spirit; true Repentance, perfect Remission and Forgiveness, and Amendment of Life, as in the last Petition of the Litany or general Supplication, then convey your whole Soul to Heaven as an Arrow in that Quiver, *We beseech thee to hear us Good Lord;* And thus faithfully Attend and devoutly Join, in every part of the Service, especially in the Prayer of St. Chrysostom; Unite all your Devotion to the Devotions of the whole Assembly; quicken your Fervency, and confirm your Faith in your Redeemer in this Prayer directed immediately unto Himself, saying *last hold on his gracious Promise, That where two or three are gathered together in his Name, he will grant their request.*

5. Being thus become Serious, your hearts in Awe of God, and prepared to Hear his Word, lift them up to him in pure devotion for your Minister, that he may bring you a Portion in particular; Claim for him the Promise of Christ, *† to be with his Ministers to the End of the World.* And,

† St. Matthew, 28. 20.

C 2

6. Life

6) Lift up your Hearts to God for your selves, that you may have Ears to hear, and Hearts to understand, and Wisdom to apply the Sermon to your own special Use.

Thus when you find your selves Reproved, receive it as the Instruction of God, and the very Means of your Salvation, and say, Faithful, O Lord is thy Word, let it be sharper than any Two-edged *Sword*, to divide from my precious Soul, all my darling Sins, my unruly Passions, and carnal Affections.

When the divine Judgments against the Ungodly are Denounced, say, Lord ! Let them perswade me, and lead me to Repentance. When the divine Promises are Applied, say, Lord ! Be it unto me according to thy Word. When the Sufferings of Christ the Lamb of God are Displayed, say, Oh ! The Height and Depth, and Length and Breadth of the Love of Christ which passeth Knowledge ! How Unworthy am I that my Saviour should thus Suffer for Me ! And in this manner set home as well the Sacred Lessons, Epistles and Gospel, as the publick Lessons, Epistles and Applications, with groanings of fervent Desires to God, that by the help of his special Grace, his own Means may be effectual to your Conversion and Salvation. And let me be so free

free as to tell you, my Brethren, That when your Hearts are honest towards God, your Integrity will be expressed in this or the like Method.

-To Conclude,

Consider my beloved Brethren ! That if you are Unfruitful under the Ministry of God's Word, you are that very Ground, understood by St. Paul to the Hebrews || which *drinketh in the Rain that cometh oft upon it, and beareth Thorns and Briars ; it is rejected, and is nigh unto Cursing, whose End is to be burned.* You have the Seed sown, and water'd by continual Applications, by the most weighty Motives, serious Admonitions, affectionate Instructions, and repeated Instructions ; and if you bring not forth fruits of Repentance unto perfection, 'tis because you are like the barren Soil, utterly indisposed for Improvement, and your Fate will be the same, *whose End is to be burned.*

For the Word of God must beget in us a *Spiritual Life*, * or it will be spoken in vain : All other Improvements under the Gospel Profession, such as the Esteem of others, the reputation of being Religious, your Zeal for a

|| Hebrews 6. 7, 8.

* James i. 18,

Party,

Party, or being visible Members of the purest Branch of the Catholick Church, without Faith in the Soul, and a thorough prevailing change of Mind and Life, will only illustrate the impenetrable hardness of your Hearts.

When ever therefore, by God's Grace, you feel your Defects, and begin to be convinced of your Hypocrisy, and carnal Notions in Religion ; be very Cautious lest you charge your Sterility and Barrenness upon the Inefficacy of the Means ; but rather reflect upon your selves for your want of a due Preparation, serious Attention, and faithful Application of the things which you have heard of God and Eternity ; and in proportion to your Concern for your selves, for the future, *give the more earnest heed to the things which you shall hear, lest at any time you should let them slip,* &c. Implore the divine Forgiveness for all that's past, and beg of God the Impression of those *holy Desires*, and that honest Intention ; which is contrary to Hypocrisy. Nor ever comfort your selves in your compliance with all publick Institutions, unless you find, that all carnal Affections die in you, and that all things belonging to the Spirit do live and grow in you.

† Hebrews 2. 1,

And

And for your satisfaction in this point, Prove your own selves; ask your own Consciences whether the World is Crucified unto you, and you unto the World? Whether you have Power and Strength given you, to resist the Temptations of the Devil, the World and the Flesh? Whether you put your Trust in the Living God, and despising uncertain Riches, are first of all concerned to be Rich in good Works? Whether you are endued with those heavenly Virtues which are the genuine Fruits of the Spirit, such as *Love, Joy, Peace, Long-Suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, Temperance*? And if at the Bar of your own Consciences, you are Condemned, as Carnal and Sensual, as *Heady and High-minded, Lovers of Pleasures more than Lovers of God*; then remember that God who is greater than your Hearts, is highly Offended, with the ease Admission of the Suggestions of Satan, to catch away the Word and with your making light of his gracious Calls of Mercy: And that if they bring not forth Fruit answerable to Amendment of Life, the Sermons you hear from this Desk will rise up in Judgment against you. Oh! That God would therefore touch your Hearts, with a fervency of Mind to attend the Seed-time, and then you might comfortably hope to Reap in everlasting Life.

Galatians 5, 22, 23

Let

Let me therefore beseech you, my beloved Brethren, to enter into your own Hearts, set humbly before God and consider, Whether when you come into his Presence appointed for the holy Purposes, of setting forth his most worthy Praise, and hearing his most holy Word, you do then offer and present unto him, your Selves, your Souls and Bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively Sacrifice unto him; humbly desiring to be partakers of his Grace and heavenly Benediction. And if you find misgiving of Mind, and rebukes of Conscience, then yield unto God, a most penitent Confession, for having Resist his Grace; Neglected his Word, and Opposed the fixing of his Abode in your Hearts. For if your Hearts are not fill'd with God, and with the meek and humble Spirit of Jesus, they will be fill'd with the World, and a Carnal Mind, & be governed by those evil Spirits which Rule in the Children of Disobedience. * And, Oh! the Folly and Madness of renouncing the easy Yoke of Christ, for the Slavery and Thralldom of the Devil.

Satan would tremble, and his Kingdom be shaken by the preaching of the Word, if mens Hearts were honest, prepared and disposed

* Ephesians, 2. 2.

sed

ted to receive the Seed of Eternal Life; whom if you resist, by Watching, Fasting and Prayer, he will flee from you. But while you are vainly puff'd up with your Earthly Mind, and think you are Rich and increased in Goods, and have need of Nothing, but are Wretched, and Miserable, and Poor, and Blind and Naked, he sports himself with his Ease Prov.

Nor be so Deceived as to think the Word of God useful to you, if it serves no better purpose, than to please your Ears, but leaves no abiding Influence upon your Minds. Remember that Herod heard John Baptist gladly, while he had his Herodias, and liv'd in an Incestuous Adultery. No more is your delight in Divine Service any token of Grace, or that the Word takes Effect, if you can retain but one Sin with Pleasure. Be not therefore so Carnal, as to imagine that the publick Worship was design'd for any other Use, but to set forth the Praise and Glory of God, and obtain his Spirit and Grace.

And now, my Beloved; if God should affect your Minds with the Importance of his Word, and its absolute Necessity to your Salvation, your hearts would bleed, with a sense of your

Rev. 3. 17.

D

former



The Pope and the Archbishop greet each other formally before reading their prepared statements.

The beginning of a dialog

After their joint public statements and the exchange of the kiss of peace, the Pope and the Archbishop talked together privately with only interpreters present. They discussed the doctrinal differences dividing their Churches, in particular papal primacy, the validity of Anglican orders, Roman Catholic veneration of the Blessed Virgin (which most Anglicans consider excessive) and, perhaps the most vital issue of all, mixed marriages. Later, Dr. Ramsey told newsmen that the Pope's recent announcement on the latter was still far from satisfying the consciences of Anglican Christians.

The only practical result of the Canterbury/Rome meeting was the decision to set up a serious dialog between Anglican and Roman Catholic theologians to deal with doctrinal matters, in the hope that it "may lead to that unity in truth for which Christ prayed." But that belongs to the future. For the present many Christians have taken heart from the simple graciousness of the meeting itself and from Pope Paul's final spontaneous gesture when he removed from one of his fingers a jewelled ring and gave it to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[22]

former, Neglects ; and you would Lament,
 Lord ! How have I bared instruction ; and did
 not choose the Fear of God ? Lord ! How have I set
 at naught thy Counsels, and would none of thy Re-
 proofs ! You would not then immediately
 turn from the Presence of God, to the vanity
 of your former Conversation, but would enter
 into your Closets, to Commune with your own
 unworthy Hearts, for Neglecting and Despising
 the heavenly Treasure.

And, Oh ! That our United Prayers, to God
 the giver of all good Gifts, might now succeed
 to obtain his Blessing on the present Dis-
 course ; that it may be received as, the very
 Means of our Salvation : Grant we beseech
 thee, Almighty God, that the words which
 we have now heard with our outward Ears,
 may through thy Grace be so grafted inwards
 ly in our Hearts, that they may bring forth in
 us the fruit of good Living, to the Honour
 and Praise of thy Name, through Jesus Christ
 our Lord, Amen.

F I N I S.



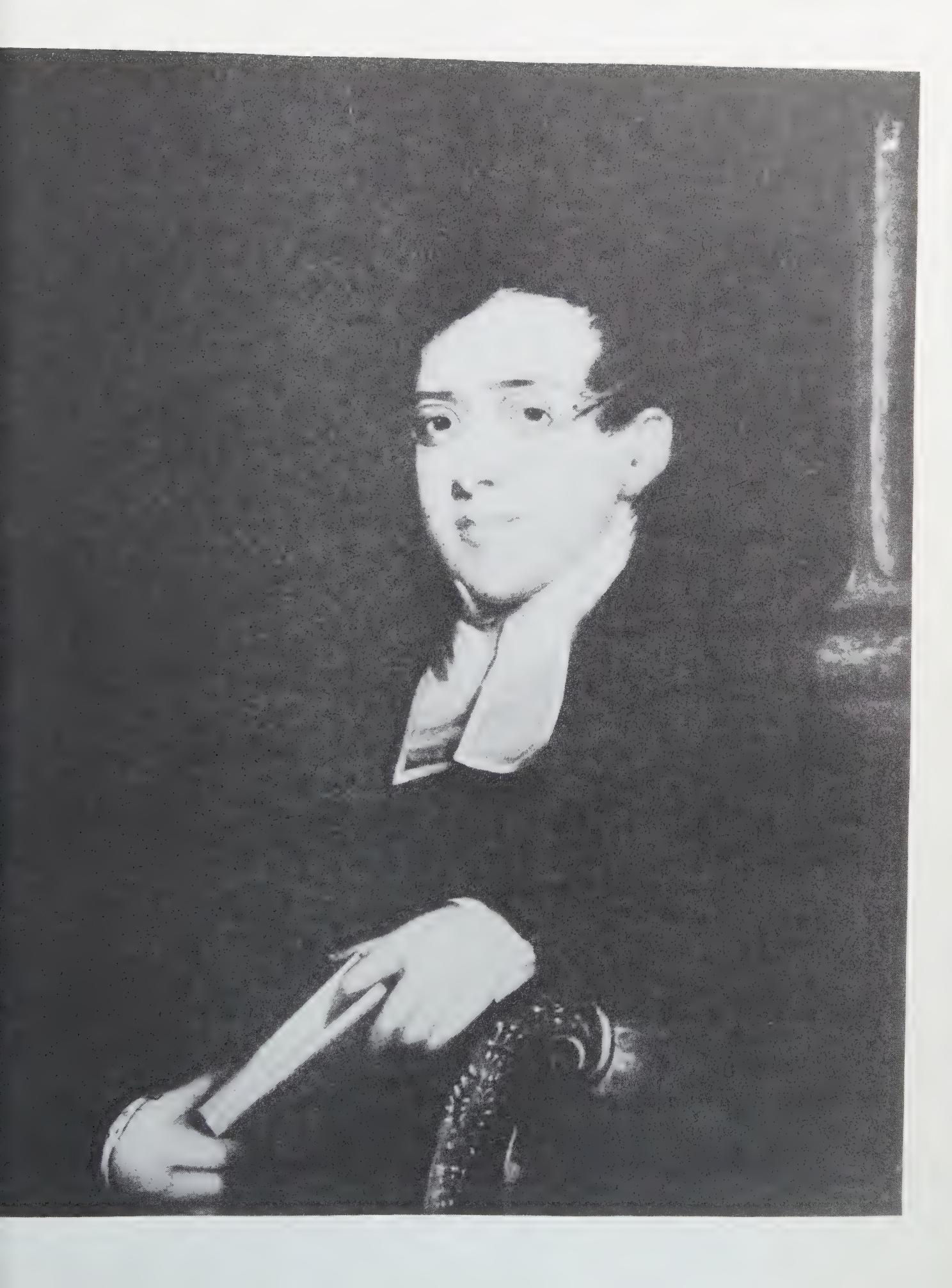


The Misses Beach, of Vine Hill, West Hartford, standing with the Rt. Rev. Stephen E. Keeler, Bishop of Minnesota, during his presidency of the Wellesley Conference for Church Work, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., in June, 1940. Edith Beach (on the left) was founder of the Church Missions Publishing Co., of Hartford. Mary Beach (on the right) assisted her in the work.











BLOOMFIELD: ST. ANDREW'S



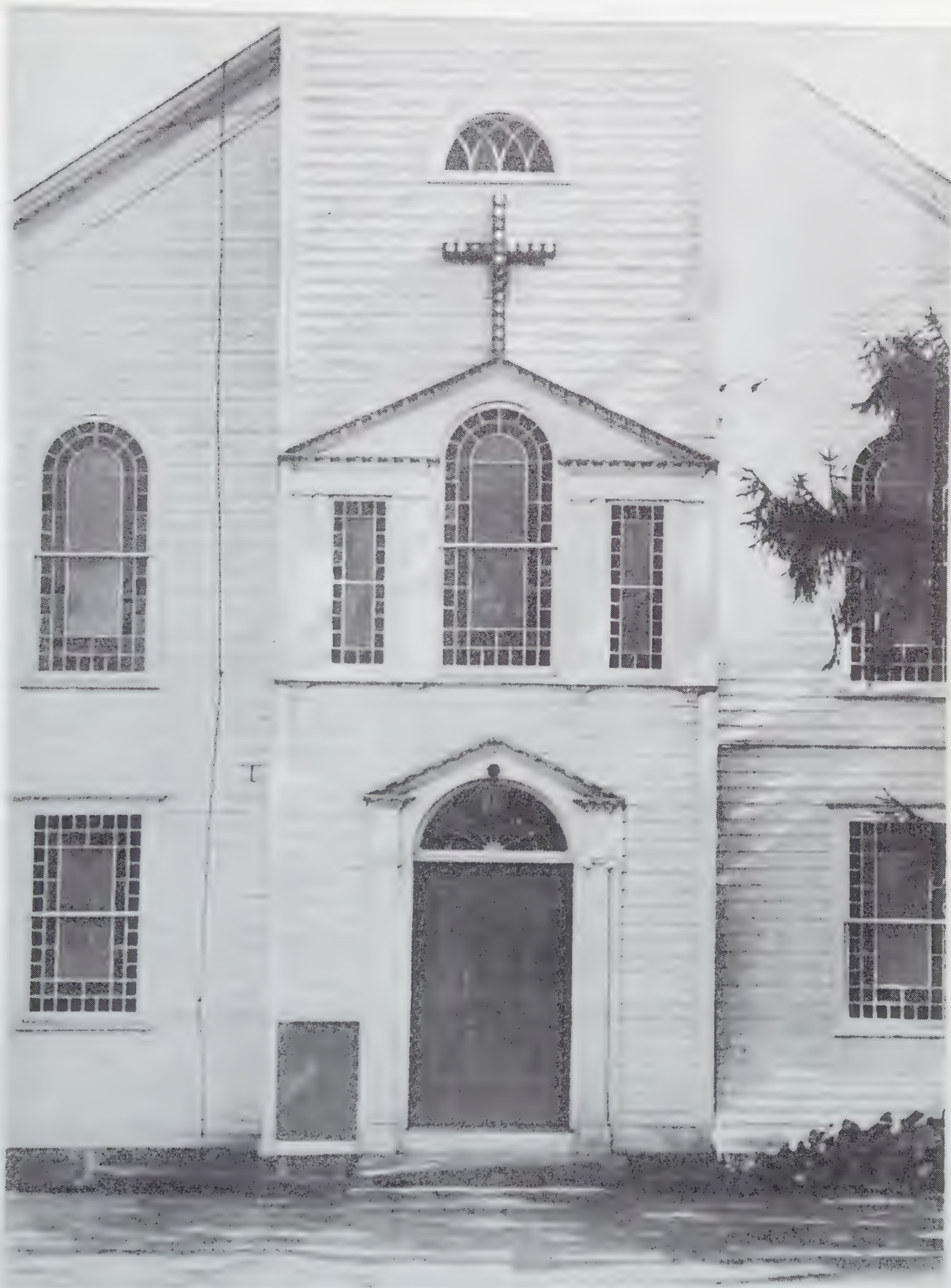
BROOKLYN: OLD TRINITY



EAST PLYMOUTH: ST. MATTHEW'S



HEBRON: ST. PETER'S



HUNTINGTON: ST. PAUL'S



MONROE: ST. PETER'S



NEW CANAAN: ST. MARK'S



NORTH HAVEN: ST. JOHN'S



RIVERTON: ST. PAUL'S



WOODBURY: ST. PAUL'S

Anglican Officeholding in Pre-Revolutionary Connecticut: The Parameters of New England Community

Bruce E. Steiner*

ON April 9, 1764, the freemen of New Haven assembled to elect deputies to the May session of Connecticut's General Assembly. The choice of the majority fell first on physician John Hubbard, fit champion of the community's interests or, more accurately, of those of its Old Light segment. Pillar of the First Church, honorary master of arts of Yale College, justice of the quorum, probate judge, lieutenant colonel of militia, frequent moderator of town meetings, and now—for the eighteenth time—deputy, Hubbard truly was, as the gravestone inscription preserved by his son-in-law, the Reverend Ezra Stiles, would record, "the first in civil Authority, and in the management of the public affairs in the Town of New Haven."¹ To a man of Stiles's way of thinking, however, the freemen's choice of a second deputy must have seemed little less than a betrayal of the town's Puritan heritage. The man designated as Hubbard's colleague, Enos Alling, was, to be sure, Stiles's own classmate at Yale and an eminent merchant. But Alling was, in addition, both a defector from the First Church and a sometime candidate for the Anglican ministry. As clerk of New Haven's Trinity Church he led the congregation's responses each Sabbath and occasionally occupied the desk as lay reader. His money and influence were responsible for Trinity's "present respectable State" and in great measure for its very

* Mr. Steiner is a member of the Department of History, Ohio University. The data most basic to this study resulted from an attempt to identify for the colonial period all Anglican field-grade militia officers, Assembly deputies, justices of the peace and, in specified towns, selectmen, as well as to compile a sample of Anglican officeholders, civil and military, at lower levels. The sources yielding these data are so numerous that citations would lengthen the article unduly. The more important sources appear in the documentation of other matters. Additional biographical data likewise are drawn from a great miscellany of sources. Accordingly, such information is documented only when reference is made to particular individuals; in these instances minimal citations are provided.

¹ Franklin Bowditch Dexter, ed., *Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles* . . . (New Haven, Conn., 1916), 381.

existence. "It may well be said of him," wrote its pastor, "he hath loved our Church; And as it was [said] of the Centurion, He hath built us a Synagogue." Five days before Alling and Hubbard took their seats in the Hartford stathouse, the former was nominated for membership in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.²

In the context of Connecticut's pre-Revolutionary political life Alling's election was neither a momentary aberration nor an isolated phenomenon. Beginning for the most part in the 1730s, lay leaders among the colony's Anglican minority, an enlarging body but always a small one, numbering approximately 17,200 white persons or 9 percent of Connecticut's white population as late as 1774, gradually abandoned the role of the mere voter for the delights of officeholding.³ The incorporation of these church wardens, vestrymen, and clerks into the most active segment of the political structure reflected the ability of Connecticut communities to achieve a substantial degree of concord without a corresponding measure of theological consensus.⁴ It also registered in dramatic fashion the growing

² Solomon Palmer to the S.P.G. Secretary, Dec. 26, 1765, S.P.G. MSS, B 23, no. 312; Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College* . . . (New York, 1885-1912), II, 74-75; church wardens and vestrymen of St. James's, Waterbury, Conn., to the S.P.G. Secretary, Apr. 22, 1747, S.P.G. MSS, B 15, nos. 57, 58; statement of officers of Trinity, New Haven, Conn., Feb. 25, 1763, *ibid.*, B 23, no. 306 (all S.P.G. MSS are copies, Library of Congress); Solomon Palmer to the S.P.G. Secretary, May 5, 1764, in Francis L. Hawks and William S. Perry, eds., *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* . . . (New York, 1863-1864), II, 63.

³ This estimate of Anglican numbers is based primarily on Congregational data in *Minutes of the Convention of Delegates from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and from the Associations of Connecticut* . . . (Hartford, Conn., 1843), 62-63, which gives town-by-town white population totals taken from Connecticut's 1774 census, together with Anglican figures for a majority of communities. This report has been pieced out with scattered information, especially the missionary reports in S.P.G. MSS, B 23, and S.P.G. MSS, Connecticut, 1635-1782.

⁴ Michael Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1970), argues that community concord necessarily depended on a consensus of which Congregationalism formed an integral and major part and that officeholders epitomized this consensus. Confined to Massachusetts towns, his study includes among those closely investigated Braintree and Dedham, where Anglican churches were opened, respectively, in 1727 and 1761. The relationships of their adherents with local Congregational majorities do not support Zuckerman's thesis of sustained hostility, amounting to permanent exclusion from anything approaching full membership in the community, directed at those who rejected the New England Way. They do fit the Connecticut pattern in which the temper of such relationships generally was determined by the date, distant or recent, when Anglicanism first ruptured a community's denominational unity. Thus in 1769 the minister of Braintree's Christ Church wrote that his people were "happily in Union among themselves, and at peace with their Neighbors."

acquiescence of these communities in the politics of diversity.

This development has not been recognized in studies that have dealt with Anglican-Congregational relationships in pre-Revolutionary Connecticut.⁶ Based largely on such traditional literary sources as pamphlets, sermons, and newspapers, and the letters of Ezra Siles and S.P.G. missionaries, they elaborate themes dominant in these materials. The resulting accounts of mutual fear, suspicion, and resentment, of harassment of the minority group amounting at times to persecution, of alienation of the majority group from the Anglican-cherishing mother country portray relationships so laden with enmity as to preclude officeholding by Churchmen.⁶ It is only when one looks also at other, more localized, and in some cases quantifiable sources—when one gives full weight to data extracted from minutes of town, society, and parish meetings or from the patterning of vital statistics—that the extent and character of

Likewise, in 1762-1772 Maj. Ebenezer Miller, Christ Church's principal layman, served eight terms as a selectman despite the fact that his father was Brantree's first S.P.G. missionary and the man whose death in 1763 gave rise to the famed Aphorism-Mayhew controversy. From Dedham, on the other hand, came complaints of harassment in these same years, although by 1771 the Anglican pastor could report that he kept up "a good harmony and friendly correspondence with many of my Dissenting neighbours of a more sociable and virtuous disposition." Edward Winslow to the S.P.G. Secretary, July 4, 1769, in William S. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (Hartford, Conn., 1870-1878), III, 547; William Clark to the S.P.G. Secretary, Apr. 23, Oct. 1, 1770, Sept. 10, 1771, *ibid.*, 550, 552, 560; Samuel A. Bates, ed., *Records of the Town of Brantree 1640 to 1793* (Randolph, Mass., 1886), 381, 389, 399, 417, 422, 426, 430, 434; Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933-), VII, 98-100.

⁶ E. Edwards Beardsley, *The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut . . .*, I (New York, 1865), 16-300 *passim*; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Scepter: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-1775* (New York, 1962), 68-71, 74-77, 85-92, 104-108, 139-141, 213-217, 222-224, 249-250, 271-277, 281-282, 328-329; Nelson R. Burr, *The Story of the Diocese of Connecticut . . .* (Hartford, Conn., 1962), 8-9, 18-22, 32-34, 41-46, 56-61, 103-105, 115-118, 128-132; Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 168-173, 223-224, 272-274; M. Louise Greene, *The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut* (Boston, 1905), 171-172, 174-175, 178-180, 185-187, 191-203, 217-219, 281, 310-321, 327; Oscar Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750-1776* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1949), 12-14, 27-29, 69-70, 79, 91-92, 96-99, 101-102, 130-131, 229-230.

⁶ Although the election as assistant in 1766 and subsequent years of William Samuel Johnson figures in the studies cited, together with other aspects of this prominent Churchman's pre-Revolutionary political career, Johnson's participation in Connecticut's public life is treated as something unique for an Anglican and is never reconciled satisfactorily with the writers' conclusions about interdenominational relationships.

Anglican political participation stand clearly revealed. And because that participation is, on the basis of earlier findings, so entirely unexpected, it perhaps is best to begin its exploration by allowing numbers and percentages to illuminate its most striking aspect: Anglican membership in the General Assembly.

Table I, pp. 404-405, records in detail the fact that between 1732 and 1776 fifty-six Churchmen were chosen by twenty-five Connecticut towns (more than one-third of those electing deputies) to fill a total of 297 half-year terms in the Assembly's lower house.⁷ Studied in conjunction with the map, the table also shows that there was no simple relationship between the Anglican proportion of a town's inhabitants and the willingness of the voters to choose Churchmen as deputies.⁸ A number of towns with very substantial Anglican populations—Stamford, Fairfield, Danbury, Kent, and Hebron—elected no Churchmen at all. A second group, of which Ridgefield, Waterbury, Litchfield, and Simsbury may serve as examples, coupled sizable Anglican proportions of their inhabitants with small Anglican proportions of their total Assembly deputations. Still other towns, during one or both of the time periods designated in the table, chose Churchmen as deputies in near proportion to their Anglican populations. Stratford acted thus, as did Newtown, Derby, Greenwich, and Guilford. A fourth contingent—again, during one or both of the time periods—sent Anglican deputations that were so large as to be out of proportion to their Anglican populations. Especially was this the case in the period beginning with the session of October 1763 and extending through that of May 1775.

This last fact requires comment. If the election of Churchmen as

⁷ A list of members precedes the acts of each Assembly as recorded in J. H. Trumbull and C. J. Hoadly, eds., *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut . . .* (Hartford, Conn., 1850-1890), VII-XV. I have labeled officeholders as Anglicans when it could be established that adherence to the Anglican Church preceded their initial choice for a given office or, alternatively, their choice for terms of office counted in Anglican totals. Field-grade militia officers who turned Churchmen but retained their commissions also are so labeled. Since the data needed for this determination are lacking for some men who became officeholders and Anglicans, my numbers for Anglican deputies and their terms are minimum figures. I believe, however, that more complete information would not enlarge them to any great degree.

⁸ Drawn by Catherine McQuaid Steiner, the map, as regards the boundaries of towns and counties, is adapted from one compiled in the 1770s and reproduced as the endpapers to Zeichner, *Connecticut's Years of Controversy*. The calculations underlying the representations of Anglican populations rest on data derived from the sources cited in n. 3 (as do all statements in this article regarding the size of the Anglican populations of individual towns).

ing to nullify the proceedings, disgruntled townsmen complained in a petition to the Assembly that "two young men of the Church of England persuasion were Chosen the Cheife officers." The Assembly, however, confirmed Mumford and Williams in their posts.⁹ Earlier it had endorsed the uncontested elections of other Churchmen, the first being that of Daniel Shelton in 1717 as lieutenant of a Stratford company.¹⁰ Of the fifty-six Anglicans chosen as deputies, twenty-two won company-level militia office, fifteen of them prior to their initial service in the legislature. Many Churchmen who never commanded the constituency needed by a would-be deputy likewise enjoyed this badge of neighborhood popularity. Stamford provides an especially interesting example, the men of its First Company having honored Fyler Dibble with their captaincy in 1773 despite the fact that his father was the local S.P.G. missionary and that the local Congregational minister, Noah Welles, was a leading anti-Anglican polemicist.¹¹

For a few Churchmen a company commission proved a stepping-stone to field-grade militia rank. That Churchmanship was to be no insuperable bar to the holding of such posts was clearly if quietly established at an early date. In the 1740s former Assistants Edmund Lewis and John Burr abandoned churches of the Standing Order to become, respectively, the most prominent member of the Christ Church, Stratford, and the principal founder of St. John's, Stratfield. The Assembly, however, did not remove them from their offices as colonel and lieutenant colonel of the Fourth Regiment, comprising the militia of Fairfield, Stratford, Danbury, and Newtown, in which posts they served until their deaths.¹² A field-grade commission was issued to an avowed Churchman for the first time in 1758, when Edward Allen of Milford, then a member of Christ Church,

deputies appears to be an anomaly throughout the colonial era, it seems doubly so in the turbulent years immediately preceding the Revolution. The twenty-four Assembly terms grouped as the period 1763-1775 span the excitement of the Sugar Act, Stamp Act, and Townshend duties, the crisis of the Intolerable Acts, and the meetings of the First and Second Continental Congresses. Equally important, these years supposedly brought Congregational-Anglican tensions to fever pitch, as in the Athorp-Mayhew controversy regarding the S.P.G. and the final attempts to obtain a colonial episcopate. Yet the growing fear of Britain's encroachments on colonial political and religious freedoms had little effect on some of Connecticut's chief towns, as measured by their votes for Assembly deputies. Instead of consigning the local Anglican minority to political perdition, freemen repeatedly sent that minority's lay leaders to Hartford and New Haven as their spokesmen. Although Churchmen formed but 8 percent of its population, Milford chose an Assembly delegation that was 38 percent Anglican between 1763 and 1775. For Middletown the comparable figures were 8 percent and 25 percent; for Killingworth, 3 percent and 19 percent; for Windsor, 4 percent and 15 percent; for Wallingford, 13 percent and 39 percent; for Norwalk, 19 percent and 33 percent. In each of these towns the Anglican proportion of Assembly terms was strikingly larger than in the period 1751-1763. Indeed, as Table I also shows, of twenty-four towns electing deputies in both periods, no fewer than sixteen increased the Anglican proportions of their Assembly deputations as the Anglo-American controversy moved toward its climax. The result was that in the session of May 1774 Anglican membership in the lower house reached an all-time high: the thirteen Churchmen occupying seats formed approximately 10 percent of the deputies attending.

If the tensions of the post-1763 period did not result in the exclusion of Anglicans from the Assembly, neither did they prevent their serving as militia officers. Military companies, of which each town had at least one and most towns more than one, continued to elect Churchmen as ensigns, lieutenants, and captains just as they had been doing for half a century. Anglican eligibility for these positions was affirmed by the Assembly in 1736. In that year an election for officers of the newly formed East Company in Groton's North Society resulted in the choice of two Churchmen, Thomas Mumford, uncle of the future bishop Samuel Seabury, and William Williams, as captain and lieutenant respectively. Seek-

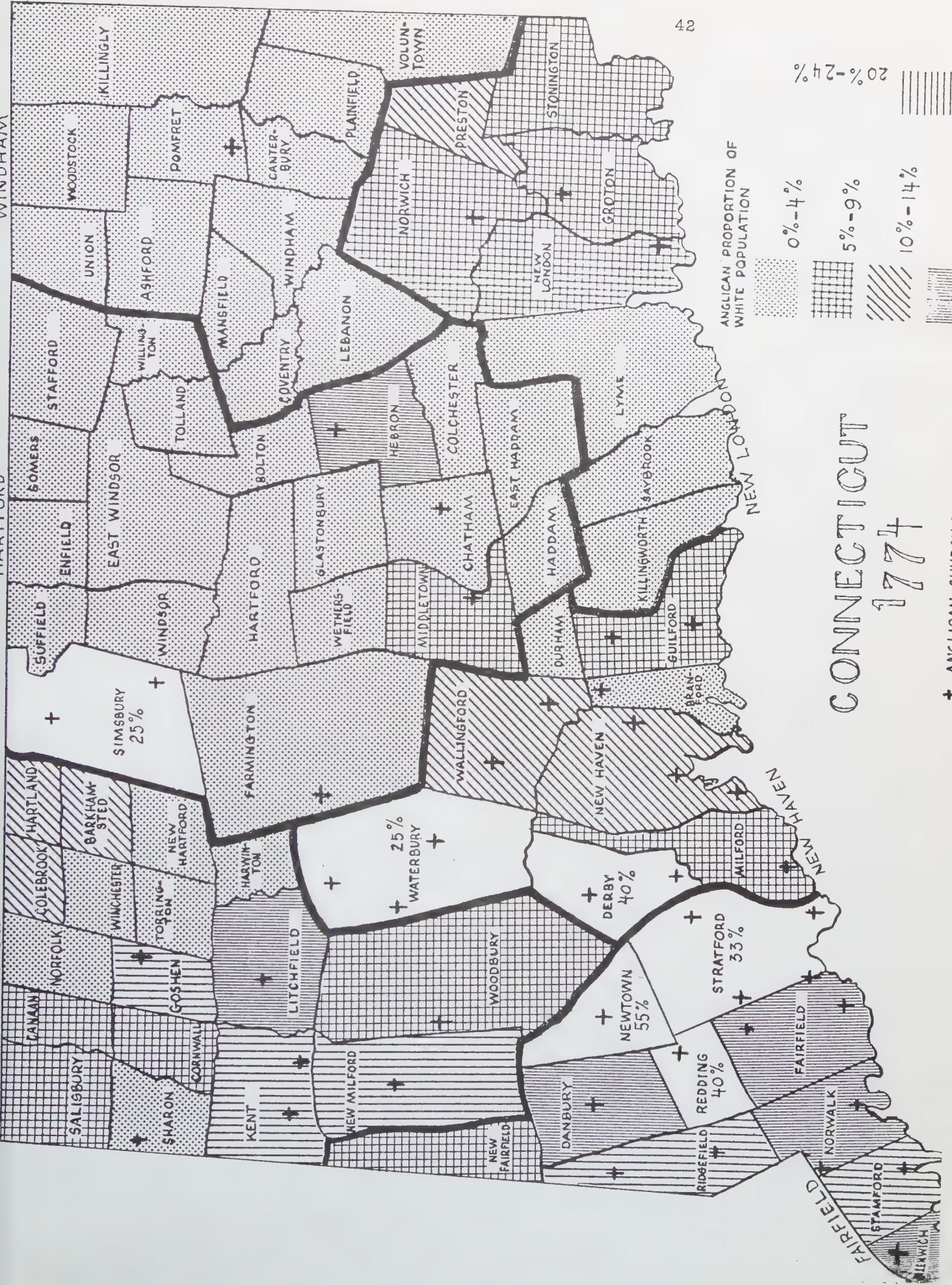
⁹ Petition of certain inhabitants of Groton's North Society, Oct. 19, 1736, Connecticut Archives, Militia Papers, 1st Ser., II, doc. 269, Connecticut State Library, Hartford; Trumbull and Hoadly, eds., *Conn. Records*, VIII, 58.

¹⁰ Trumbull and Hoadly, eds., *Conn. Records*, VI, 10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XIV, 168; E. B. Huntington, *History of Stamford, Connecticut . . .* (Stamford, Conn., 1868), 391; Dexter, *Sketches of Yale Graduates*, I, 507-509, 603-605.

¹² Donald Lines Jacobus, comp., *History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield*, I (New Haven, Conn., 1930), 128, 379; Samuel Orcutt, *A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut . . .* (New Haven, Conn., 1886), 349; Records of Christ Church, Stratford, Conn., 1722-1932, I, 32; II, 38, 49, 170 (all records of individual Anglican and Congregational churches and Congregational societies are, unless otherwise noted, original records or copies in the Conn. State Library); "History of the Church in Fairfield," *Churchman's Monthly Magazine*, I (1804), 28; Trumbull and Hoadly, eds., *Conn. Records*, VIII, 277, 279; IX, 565; XI, 16.

† ANGLICAN CHURCH BUILDING



Stratford, was appointed major of the Second Regiment, which included the towns of New Haven, Milford, Branford, and Derby. In 1771 Allen became the regiment's commander, and when he resigned his colonelcy two years later a reshuffling of officers placed David Baldwin, with Allen a founder of St. George's, Milford, in the post of major. The Fourth Regiment had acquired its Anglican major in 1772 in the person of William Samuel Johnson, noted lawyer and an assistant since 1766. Advanced to the post of lieutenant colonel early in 1774, he surrendered his commission before the end of that year, as did Baldwin, probably to avoid possible involvement in a military confrontation with Britain.¹³

Field-grade militia commissions had as their usual prerequisite not merely company-level rank but also service in the Assembly. Election to the legislature likewise ordinarily preceded appointment to the ranks of the justices of the peace.¹⁴ Before 1776 some eighteen Churchmen became justices and thus could use the coveted title of "Esquire"; of this number fifteen were previously chosen deputies by their towns. The first Anglican justices, like the first Anglican militia officers of high rank, were Congregationalists when they obtained their offices. When he died in 1740, Lt. Col. Edmund Lewis headed the commission of the peace for Fairfield County, his name standing first among the justices of the quorum. Thereafter he was dropped from the commission until 1743, when the Assembly again placed him at its head where he remained until age compelled his retirement. His neighbor, Theophilus Nichols, made an easier transfer of religious allegiance. A series of annual appointments as a justice, unbroken for the years 1738 to 1765, gave no hint of his removal from Stratford's First Church to Christ Church in 1743. Similarly, by 1774 James Landon of Salisbury became an Anglican ("Eloped to ye Church," to use his former pastor's wording) without producing any break in his long service on the Litchfield County commission.¹⁵

¹³ Trumbull and Hoadly, eds., *Conn. Records*, VIII, 277; XI, 130; XIII, 428; XIV, 6, 162-163, 221, 331-332; Orcutt, *Stratford*, 352; Christ Church, Stratford, Recs., II, 131, 171, 268; Records of St. Peter's (St. George's) Church, Milford, Conn., 1764-1866, I, 1-8, 17.

¹⁴ For appointments as justice see Trumbull and Hoadly, eds., *Conn. Records*, VII-XV *passim*. Of the justices designated for Fairfield County in 1730 63% had won election as deputies prior to their initial appointment to the bench. The comparable figure for 1740 was 73%; for 1750, 59%; for 1760, 57%; and for 1770, 59%. A number of justices without prior legislative service lived in towns not yet represented in the Assembly at the time they first occupied their posts.

¹⁵ Christ Church, Stratford, Recs., II, 87b; Orcutt, *Stratford*, 349; Records of the Congregational Church, Salisbury, Conn., 1744-1890, I, n.p.

The increase in the Anglican proportions of certain towns' post-1763 Assembly deputations was accompanied by an even greater enlargement of the number of Anglican justices and of the geographical area they served. Of the eighteen Anglican justices only five were appointed before 1768, and all five were residents of just two towns, both in Fairfield County: Lewis, Nichols, and William Samuel Johnson of Stratford, and Israel Knap and Nathaniel Sackett of Greenwich. In no year before 1768 did the Assembly appoint more than three Churchmen, and in the period 1761-1767 the average fell below one per year. In 1768 two justices were designated, one of them the veteran Newtown deputy, Henry Glover. Thereafter both Anglican justices and towns with Anglican justices increased steadily: four of each in 1769, seven in 1770, nine in 1771 and 1772, ten in 1773, and twelve in 1774, when Groton, New London, and Killingworth in New London County; Milford, New Haven, Derby, and Wallingford in New Haven County; Salisbury in Litchfield County; Middletown in Hartford County; and Stratford, Norwalk, and Newtown in Fairfield County all had Churchmen in the commissions. But as the Revolutionary crisis deepened, the number declined, to ten in 1775, seven in 1776, and two in 1777, when the first appointments were made under the state government.¹⁶

Anglican justices, deputies, and militia officers, especially the first two groups, reflected Anglican participation in town government. Only a minority of men—in some towns a very small minority—won election as deputies (and thus greatly increased their chances of becoming justices) without occupying, even if briefly, the major local office of selectman.¹⁷

¹⁶ The Anglican justices of 1768-1777 included, in addition to Henry Glover (1768-1774), Theophilus Nichols (1768-1773), Theophilus Morgan of Killingworth (1769-1777), Maccok Ward of Wallingford (1769-1774), David Baldwin of Milford (1770-1775), Thomas Belden of Norwalk (1770-1776), John Still Winthrop of New London (1770-1775), Enos Alling of New Haven (1771-1776), Henry Lyon of Redding (1771-1773), Richard Alsop of Middletown (1773-1775), James Landon of Salisbury (1774-1776), Thomas Mumford of Groton (1774-1777), Philip Nichols of Stratford (1774-1776), John Wooster of Derby (1774-1775), and William Samuel Johnson (1776).

¹⁷ Thus in Norwalk 65% in Derby at least 72%, and in Stamford 75% of the deputies chosen 1735-1775 served as selectmen prior to their initial election as deputy. In Litchfield, which first chose deputies in 1740, the figure for 1740-1775 was 82%. For rosters of selectmen see Elsie Nicholas Danenberg, *The Romance of Norwalk* (New York, 1929), 447-455; Samuel Orcutt and Ambrose Beardsley, *The History of the Old Town of Derby, Connecticut . . .* (Springfield, Mass., 1880), 791-794; D. Hamilton Hurd, comp., *History of Fairfield County, Connecticut . . .* (Philadelphia, 1881), 722-723; Payne K. Kilbourne, *Sketches and Chronicles of the Town of Litchfield, Connecticut . . .* (Hartford, Conn., 1859), 218-220.

Churchmen scarcely could expect exemption from the general rule and, accordingly, at least nine and probably ten of the thirteen Churchmen in the May Assembly of 1774 served as selectmen prior to their first Assembly session. A sampling of towns suggests that, as in the instance of Assembly deputations, no simple relationship existed between the Anglican proportion of a town's selectmen's terms over a given span of time and the Anglican proportion of its population. Thus in Derby Churchmen composed 40 percent of the population in 1774 but served only 9 percent of the selectmen's terms of 1763-1775, whereas in 1751-1763, when the Anglican inhabitants increased to something like one-third of the town, their proportion of selectmen's terms was at least 25 percent. Similarly, Guilford's Anglicans provided no selectmen in 1763-1775, although they formed 7 percent of the town in 1774, while in 1751-1763 they filled 9 percent of the selectmen's terms even though their proportionate numbers apparently were somewhat smaller than in the subsequent period. Large numbers of Churchmen in both periods did not produce a single Anglican selectman in Stamford; in Stratford even larger numbers—a full third of the population by the Revolution—failed to push the Anglican proportion of terms as high as 5 percent in either period. That figure, which equaled their proportionate numbers in 1774, was achieved by New London's Churchmen in 1751-1763 and again in 1763-1775. In Middletown and Milford the Anglican selectmen contingents were proportionately larger than the Anglican segments of their populations. Although Middletown's Churchmen never exceeded 8 percent of its inhabitants, selectmen's terms filled by Anglicans increased from 12 percent in 1751-1763 to 27 percent in 1763-1775. The Anglicans of Milford (8 percent of the population in 1774) mustered 22 percent for 1763-1775 and in each of the last three elections won a full 50 percent of the selectmen's seats.¹⁸ Such percentages mesh well with the impressive Anglican proportions of the Middletown and Milford Assembly deputations of 1763-1775. Nevertheless, the lack of any consistent generalized relationship is indicated by the contrast of small Anglican representations in the case of selectmen with large representa-

¹⁸ The relevant lists of selectmen—other than ones cited in n. 17—are in Guilford Town Meetings, D, 141-269 *passim*; Town Hall, Guilford, Conn.; Stratford Town Acts, I, II, n.p., Town Hall, Stratford, Conn.; New London Town Meeting Records, 1740-1789, 32-130 *passim*; Municipal Building, New London, Conn.; Middletown Town Votes and Proprietors Records, II, 242-345 *passim*; Municipal Building, Middletown, Conn.; Milford Town Records, I, 216; II, 10-82 *passim*; City Hall, Milford, Conn. I have aggregated years on the basis of annual December elections rather than according to the succeeding years when those chosen actually were in office. Men elected in Dec. 1763 are included in both groups.

tions in the case of deputies that Derby and Stratford exhibited for the same period.

In sum, beginning in the 1730s, Anglicans, theretofore mere voters, entered Connecticut's active political community as holders of public office. Their participation in a politics that was evolving from a long-hallowed consensus to a novel and, for some, frightening diversity occurred at several levels of government. Churchmen sat in both houses of the General Assembly; they filled militia posts, both company and field-grade; they served as justices of the peace; in the towns they labored as selectmen—and as cullers of lumber.¹⁹ The number of Anglican officeholders was not diminished by the eruption of Anglo-American disputes. On the contrary, the years of worsening imperial relations were the peak period of Anglican political participation.

Nevertheless, even in 1763-1775 that participation, as measured by the holding of public office, was circumscribed, for there were posts that Churchmen rarely or never filled. This fact is well illustrated by a list of the colony's higher administrative, judicial, and military officers in the summer of 1774.²⁰ Aside from justices of the peace who were not of the quorum and who, in consequence, functioned exclusively in their own towns, the list includes 137 posts, of which Anglicans occupied three. None of the judges of the Superior Court or the inferior (i.e., county) courts, thirty-five men in all, was a Churchman; none of the twenty probate judges; none of the six sheriffs or six king's attorneys; not the governor, the deputy governor, the treasurer, or the secretary. Anglicans held only one of twelve assistants' seats (the assistants being included in the list in their advisory, not their legislative, capacity) and only two of fifty-four field-grade militia commissions.

What seems especially significant is that for the largest category of posts from which Anglicans were totally absent, the higher judiciary, and for the largest in which they were badly underrepresented, militia officers of field-grade rank, the machinery of election was the General Assembly. That body was obviously wary of bestowing first-rank offices on Churchmen, and it carefully restricted Anglicans' access to offices of

¹⁹ For a variety of reasons it is difficult to express in percentages the holding by Anglicans of town offices below the level of selectman. For most towns the minutes of town meetings, read in conjunction with such local Anglican records as survive, yield the impression that Churchmen participated frequently in town government at lower levels. Data assembled for the study described in n. 44 confirm this statement in a systematic manner for New Haven.

²⁰ Trumbull and Hoadly, eds., *Conn. Records*, XIV, 501-507.

less importance. Remarkable as was the increase in numbers of local Anglican justices after 1768, it was coupled with an Assembly policy of limiting these appointments to one per town, no matter what the Churchmen's proportion of a town's population might be.²¹ The commissions issued in 1774 provide typical instances. Although the Anglican inhabitants of Newtown were 55 percent of the total number, they furnished but one justice to the Congregationalists' four. In Derby, where Churchmen constituted 40 percent of the population, the five justices were apportioned in identical fashion. In Stratford the Anglicans, one-third of the town, had one justice out of seven. This constricted judicial representation differed markedly from the Anglican proportions of the same towns' Assembly deputations for 1763-1775: Newtown 57 percent, Derby 40 percent, and Stratford 29 percent. And the contrast that these differences suggest—limited acceptance of Anglican political participation by a central appointing-electing body as against a wide acceptance by local bodies charged with like functions—is one that continually emerges from the data already presented. It becomes strikingly evident, for example, when the almost total lack of Churchmen among higher officials chosen by the Assembly is seen in contrast to the large number of Anglican deputies who were sent by the towns to the Assembly's May 1774 session—so large a number that their proportion of the lower house's membership slightly exceeded the Churchmen's proportion of Connecticut's white population. Anglican officeholding in pre-Revolutionary Connecticut clearly was rooted in the local community. Accordingly, it is to the local community that one must turn in order to explain why this overwhelmingly Congregational colony allowed the minority of Churchmen to participate actively in its public life.

Economic success accounts in part for the appearance of Anglican officeholders. The tendency of voters and legislators to select men of substance, who had demonstrated capacity for practical affairs, becomes obvious whenever an eighteenth-century tax list of a town is compared with the roster of that town's important officeholders.²² This predilection

operated to the disadvantage of Churchmen, for their financial standing was, in general, inferior to that of their Congregational neighbors.²³ Nevertheless, there were in most Anglican congregations some men with estates of the size ordinarily possessed by selectmen, deputies, or justices, and a few churches could boast a member of such economic eminence that his permanent exclusion from office would have violated the accepted relationship between wealth and authority. Richard Alsop of Christ Church, Middletown, was an officeholder of the latter type. So were Theophilus Morgan, leader of Killingworth's Churchmen, and Edward Allen of St. George's, Milford.²⁴

If prosperity or, better yet, riches could assist the Anglican who aspired to a public career, so could a college education. The function assigned Yale College in its charter of 1701—the fitting of youths “for public employments both in church and civil state”—reflected a widespread assumption that the learned should enjoy a certain preference in the filling of political posts.²⁵ Of the 339 pre-1760 graduates who settled in the colony, lived to the age of twenty-seven, and did not enter the ministry, at least 133, or 39 percent of the total group, gained seats in the Assembly's lower house.²⁶ The chances that Yale alumni would see service in the legislature, thereby increasing their eligibility for other public employment, obviously were far greater than those of typical Connecticut males, while the small numbers and widespread dispersion of Yale men meant that voters

copy, Stamford Historical Society, Stamford, Conn.; New Haven grand list of 1745, copy, New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn.; New London country levy of 1759, New London County Historical Society, New London, Conn.; Milford grand list of 1768, Conn. State Library; Lois R. Dater to author, Feb. 24, 1973, quoting Stamford Town Meeting Records; Zara J. Powers, ed., “New Haven Town Records, 1684-1769,” New Haven Col. Hist. Soc., *Ancient Record Series*, III (New Haven, Conn., 1962), 651, hereafter cited as Powers, ed., “New Haven Town Records”; New London Town Meeting Recs., 61; Milford Town Recs., II, 56.

²³ See Bruce E. Steiner, “New England Anglicanism: A Genteel Faith?” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XXVII (1970), 129-135.

²⁴ David D. Field, *Centennial Address . . .* (Middletown, Conn., 1853), 152-153; Records of Church of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church) Middletown, Conn., 1750-1937, B, 2-16; Nathaniel H. Morgan, *Morgan Genealogy. A History of James Morgan, of New London, Conn. . . .* (Hartford, Conn., 1869), 34, 49; First Society, Killingworth, Conn., country levy of 1778, Conn. State Library; Milford grand list of 1768.

²⁵ Trumbull and Hoadly, eds., *Conn. Records*, IV, 363.

²⁶ This statement is based on data from Dexter, *Sketches of Yale Graduates*, I, II, which in a few cases have been corrected and supplemented by other sources. For 131 of the group of 133 the date of birth has been determined. Fewer than 5% of these deputies were below the age of 27 when first elected; the mean age at first election was 37.5.

²¹ The only exception occurred in 1776 when William Samuel Johnson of Stratford, defeated for reelection as an assistant, was made a justice together with Philip Nichols.

²² For example, Stamford males with taxable property of more than £100 formed 14% of all male entries in the grand list of 1738 but furnished 92% of the selectmen, deputies, and justices chosen for Stamford in that year. For New Haven (1745) the comparable proportions were 14% and 75%; for New London (1759), 9% and 73%; for Milford (1768), 26% and 86%.

prejudiced in their favor generally had, in a given town and at a given time, only a handful at most to consider. Youth and old age, local factionalism, obvious incapacity, and a distaste for the political arena further narrowed the range of selection. The result was that voters on occasion could be led to the choice for deputy of a mature Anglican graduate of known ambitions and recognized abilities. The elections of John Herpin and David Baldwin in Milford, Edmund Ward in Guilford, and William Samuel Johnson in Stratford all illustrate this pattern.

Important as education and wealth were, they do not fully explain the political careers of Churchmen who enjoyed them, either singly or, as did Johnson of Stratford and Enos Alling of New Haven, in combination.²⁷ Other factors played an important part, and they dominate any explanation of officeholding by Anglicans who were neither college-educated nor especially well-to-do. Two of these factors—quarrels within the Congregational churches which, the presence of Churchmen aside, rent a town's unity, and the dispersal of town populations outward from the original settlement sites, which slowly produced the same result—helped to create a local politics of diversity that was pregnant with possibilities for would-be Anglican politicians.

That the first elections of Anglican deputies coincided with the decade of the Great Awakening and occurred in towns where the revival had a notably disruptive impact was no coincidence. When New and Old Lights divided churches into clearly defined factions, any Congregational candidate was anathema to one side or the other, at least when antagonisms were at fever pitch. These occasions created opportunities for Anglican aspirants, provided the relative numbers of the combatants and of the local Churchmen gave Anglican voters a decisive, makeweight role. Such was the case in Stratford where revival quarrels waxed so fierce that Theophilus Nichols and Lt. Col. Edmund Lewis occupied the town's seats in the May Assembly of 1744 and again in the fall session, the Old Lights having viewed a surrender of both posts to gentlemen of Christ Church as preferable to a New Light triumph. Old Light support appears to have been equally decisive in the sending to this same May Assembly of James Case of St. Andrew's, Simsbury, and helpful, at the very least, in the election of Abel Gunn of Christ Church, Derby.²⁸ The choice of a

fifth Anglican member of the session reveals that a different alignment was possible, if less likely. Eminently eligible on the score of wealth, Richard Durfey of St. James's, New London, gained his victory in great part because that town's pro-revival voters rejected a veteran Old Light deputy who, as a justice of the peace, had enforced anti-New Light legislation.²⁹

The Congregational factionalism produced by the Great Awakening generally proved ephemeral in towns with Anglican congregations. Most Church politicians could exploit it only in the mid-1740s. There were, however, some instances in which divisions endured and became institutionalized. In Guilford even before the Great Awakening, and in New Haven and Milford during it, New Light churches were formed by dissidents in each town's First Society.³⁰ Old Light efforts, directed for a brief time at suppressing these bodies and for a much longer period at forcing ministerial taxes from their members, politicized these divisions, and the factions thus formed contended at the polls as late as the 1770s. How these persistent quarrels bred Anglican officeholders is well illustrated by certain of the deputy elections in which riches and learning played significant roles.

An Anglican-Old Light coalition is clearly visible in New Haven's spring deputy election of 1764. By that date New Lights outnumbered Old Lights in the First Society and among the Society's freemen.³¹ Given

Graduates, VI, 312-313; C. C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800* . . . (New Haven, Conn., 1962), 111-112; Samuel Johnson to the S.P.G. Secretary, Sept. 30, 1743, Jan. 10, 1743/44, S.P.G. MSS, B II, fols. 36, 39; members of St. Andrew's, Simsbury, Conn., to the S.P.G. Secretary, Apr. 10, 1744, *ibid.*, B 13, fols. 171-172; Orcutt and Beardsley, *Derby*, 137-139; Records of St. James's (Christ Church, Derby, Conn., 1740-1929, V, 1. Gunn's usual political base stemmed from geographical factors.

²⁹ Records of St. James's Church, New London, Conn., 1725-1874, I, 27, 33-35, 37, 40; New London Land Records, XII, 356-357, copy, Conn. State Library; New London country levy of 1759; Joshua Hempstead, "Diary . . . from September, 1711, to November, 1758," New London Co. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, I (New London, Conn., 1901), 395, 405, 408, 415, 419, 424; Frances Manwaring Caulkins, *History of New London, Connecticut* (New London, Conn., 1852), 449-461.

³⁰ For accounts of these churches see Bernard Christian Steiner, *A History of the Plantation of Menunkatuck and of the Original Town of Guilford, Connecticut* (Baltimore, 1897), 301-339; Mary H. Mitchell, *History of the United Church of New Haven* . . . (New Haven, Conn., 1942), 1-33, 143-170, 215-234; Edward R. Lambert, *History of the Colony of New Haven* . . . (New Haven, Conn., 1838), 106-109.

³¹ By 1759 the society's adult male inhabitants included 165 New Lights and 135 Old Lights. Its population was concentrated in the port area, where in 1762 the numbers of male heads of households and of male heads of households who had

²⁷ George C. Groce, Jr., *William Samuel Johnson, a Maker of the Constitution* (New York, 1937), 25-26, 38, 41-44; New Haven grand list of 1766, New Haven Col. Hist. Soc.

²⁸ Dexter, *Sketches of Yale Graduates*, I, 30-31, 263, 331; Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard*

this situation, some arrangement with the voters of Trinity Church was highly desirable if the Old Light leader, Col. John Hubbard, was to regain one of the town's two Assembly seats, both of which the New Lights, now officially recognized as the White Haven Society, had won in every election since 1760. Accordingly, Hubbard was paired as a candidate with Trinity's Alling, Churchmen and First Society members who had neglected to become freemen took the voter's oath, and the New Lights went down to defeat. Counterattacking in the fall election, the New Lights qualified enough new freemen to win an easy and total supremacy, which they retained until a First Society politician gained his brethren an additional base of electoral support by removing to North Haven Society. The resulting Old Light victories at the polls were achieved with very acceptable, perhaps essential, Anglican support (a White Haven schism formed yet a third factor), rewarded in 1771 by the securing for Alling of an appointment as justice of the peace.³²

In Guilford and Milford the growth of New Light factions—ultimately organized as the Fourth and Second Societies, respectively—fell far short of producing majorities of the Congregational populations in these towns' First Societies.³³ To succeed at the polls the New Lights had to

qualified as freemen were almost identical for both factions. The New Lights seem to have been a decided majority in the society's agricultural fringe. Trumbull and Hoadly, eds., *Conn. Records*, XI, 323-326; "Number of Inhab. in compact part of the Town of New Haven," Jan. 27, 1762, in Dexter, ed., *Itineraries of Stiles*, 42-48; Franklin Bowditch Dexter, ed., *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* . . . , I (New York, 1901), 283; Powers, ed., *New Haven Town Records*, 151-816 *passim*, for records of admission to freemanship.

³² Powers, ed., *New Haven Town Records*, 811-813; Sheldon B. Thorpe, *North Haven Annals* . . . (New Haven, Conn., 1892), 251-252; Franklin Bowditch Dexter, comp., *Historical Catalogue of the Members of the First Church of Christ in New Haven* . . . (New Haven, Conn., 1914), 87, 89, 91, 94; Chauncey Whitelsey to Ezra Stiles, Sept. 25, 1759, in Dexter, ed., *Itineraries of Stiles*, 581-582; Benjamin Gale to Stiles, Apr. 17, 1767, *ibid.*, 492-493; Jared Ingersoll to Jonathan Ingersoll, Oct. 24, 1774, in Franklin B. Dexter, ed., "A Selection from the Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Jared Ingersoll," New Haven Col. Hist. Soc., *Papers*, IX (1918), 448; Samuel Peters to William Legge, earl of Dartmouth, Mar. 14, 1775, Dartmouth MSS, no. 1188, William Salt Library, Stafford, Eng. Save for North Haven as noted, the part played by New Haven's outlying societies in the New Light-Old Light struggle for deputies is unknown. Since the port area customarily dominated elections for deputies, that part may well have been, with this exception, a negligible one.

³³ First and Fourth Societies, Guilford, Conn., grand lists of 1758 and 1774, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.; Dexter, ed., *Itineraries of Stiles*, 77. As in New Haven, the areas embraced by their First Societies and in particular the original village sites ordinarily furnished the Assembly deputies chosen by Guilford and Milford.

forge intricate coalitions, and at Guilford in 1759 and 1760 they seem to have done so by replacing their usual successful candidate, who, as an officer in the French wars, presumably was attractive to veterans outside the Fourth Society, with his brother, Anglican Edmund Ward, whose status as a renegade New Light was more than offset by his ability to cement a family coalition that added to the voters of the Fourth Society those of Ward's Christ Church and of North Guilford's Anglican Church.³⁴ In Milford the repeated election of a New Light deputy in the years 1754-1764 was achieved by an alliance or alliances whose components are obscure. Here, as in New Haven, Churchmen voted with the First Society, although it was not until 1764 that their numbers were sufficiently large to make an alliance with them a reason for Old Light support of Anglican candidates. How smoothly the two groups coalesced at the polls is shown by the fact that Edward Allen or his fellow Churchman, David Baldwin, gained one of Milford's Assembly seats and an Old Light the other at fifteen of Milford's twenty deputy elections of 1765-1774. Three times the Old Lights filled both seats; in one Assembly Allen and Baldwin were colleagues. The New Lights, electing a deputy at the height of the Stamp Act excitement, were unable to repeat that success until a week before Lexington and Concord.³⁵

Rivalry between newer, outlying societies and original population centers, a common phenomenon in eighteenth-century New England but intensified in Connecticut by a reluctance to create smaller towns by division of existing ones, proved as important as Congregationalist factionalism in producing Anglican political successes.³⁶ One of the clearest

³⁴ Steiner, *Guilford*, 335, 371-375, 380-382, 423-424; G. K. Ward, *Andrew Ward and His Descendants 1597-1910* (New York, 1910), 35, 48-49, 79-81, 487-488; Trumbull and Hoadly, eds., *Conn. Records*, IX, 92, 98; X, 399, 470, 473; Dexter, *Sketches of Yale Graduates*, II, 537-538.

³⁵ Dexter, *Sketches of Yale Graduates*, I, 593-594; Richard Mansfield to the S.P.G. Secretary, Sept. 15, 1764, S.P.G. MSS, B 23, no. 269; Records of the First Society, Milford, 1766-1859, 1-15, City Hall, Milford, Conn.; Records of Plymouth (Second) Society, Milford, Conn., 1760-1930, 26-55. The celebrated "Wallingford Controversy," originating in 1758, likewise underlines the importance of institutionalized Congregational disputes in producing Anglican electoral triumphs with a frequency equal to that observed in Milford. For a detailed account of this affair, which, however, ignores its local political ramifications, see Charles Henry Stanley Davis, *History of Wallingford* . . . (Meriden, Conn., 1870), 164-200.

³⁶ Between 1705 and 1779 the Assembly created but four new towns by dividing old towns; in three instances these divisions involved towns naturally sundered by the Connecticut River. Alternatively, the Assembly gave a certain recognition to population growth and spread by multiplying ecclesiastical societies, which process

illustrations occurs in Derby, the northern part of which became Oxford Society as a result of a petition to the Assembly in May 1740. Abel Gunn, an Oxford resident but a founder and lay leader of Christ Church in the town's older-settled area, first won election to this session, almost certainly because the Congregationalists among Derby's northern inhabitants had assured themselves of a deputy's seat—and thus of an ardent spokesman for their petition—by coalescing with Gunn's coreligionists, irrespective of their geographical location. Oxford's subsequent determination to maintain political parity with the First Society combined with a rapid increase of Derby's Churchmen to create for Gunn the possibility of a lengthy Assembly career, his victories in a total of thirty-one deputy contests resulting from a careful cultivation of his dual sources of support. After Gunn's death Anglican John Wooster employed his electoral formula with like success until the Revolution.³⁷

Geographical considerations loom equally large in explaining Stratford's frequent choice of Churchmen as deputies. Although Anglican edifices eventually were erected in Ripton, Stratfield, and North Stratford Societies, as well as in the First Society, Anglican politicians were to be found only in the last-mentioned district, comprising Stratford village and adjacent farms. This situation led to neighborly arrangements by which Congregational leaders of the First Society, bent on countering the

ambitions of men from the outlying areas, formed alliances with Churchmen who could both assist them and injure their rivals by pulling in Anglican votes from Stratford's other districts. That such coalitions were vital to First Society dominance is shown by the fact that of the twenty-eight elections of 1743-1772 that resulted in the capture of both deputy posts by First Society men, no fewer than twenty-one involved the election of an Anglican and a Congregationalist. Literary evidence of collaboration is provided by Samuel Johnson, pastor of Christ Church in Stratford village. Writing of the contest for deputies in September 1767, he noted that "the Church [of England] got the ascendancy by joining the Tomlinson interest and Capt. Nicholls and the Doctor go [to the Assembly's New Haven session], who I hope will be at better terms." Johnson was referring to Dr. Agur Tomlinson, a deacon of the First Church, and Capt. Theophilus Nicholls, Christ Church's principal vestryman.³⁸ His comment suggests that the alliances entered into by Stratford's Churchmen were open to renegotiation with each election, and the numerical data support this view. That Captain Nicholls's eighteen elections in company with First Society Congregationalists involved six men of that persuasion may well mean nothing more than that the deputy's office was rotated among those of the meetinghouse who had decent claims to it. But his election in ten additional contests in which the other successful candidate came from another society (on seven occasions from Ripton) would seem to indicate that Anglican voters, for reasons which cannot now be ascertained, at times deserted the Congregationalists of the First Society to ally themselves with the latter's geographical rivals.³⁹

New Haven's elections for deputies in the last decades of the colonial era were dominated, as observed above, by competition between Old and New Lights, Churchmen allying themselves with the former faction. But when the contest involved the management of the town's internal affairs—in particular, the choice of selectmen—sectional considerations came to the fore. By 1762 strident competition and shifting coalitions had given way to a universally accepted understanding that assigned four selectmen to the urbanizing port district, two of them to be Old

³⁸ Samuel Johnson to William Samuel Johnson, Sept. 22, 1767, in Herbert and Carol Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson, President of King's College, His Career and Writings*, I (New York, 1929), 418; Dexter, *Sketches of Yale Graduates*, I, 768; Dexter, ed., *Itineraries of Stiles*, 265; Christ Church, Stratford, Recs., II, 144.

³⁹ The residences of Stratford's Congregational deputies have been determined from incidental references in Orcutt, *Stratford*, *passim*.

is conveniently followed in Albert C. Bates, comp., *List of Congregational Ecclesiastical Societies Established in Connecticut before October 1818 with Their Changes* (Hartford, Conn., 1913). As a result of these policies, the median white population of Connecticut's towns in 1774 was 2,168, while the proportion of that population living in towns with more than 4,000 white inhabitants—12 towns of 75—stood at 34%. In Massachusetts a different situation obtained, partly because the division of towns was much more common. The median white population for 220 towns in 1776 was 1,095; the proportion of that population living in towns with more than 4,000 white inhabitants was 23%; the number of such towns was 10. (Excluded from the Massachusetts calculations are towns in Maine and 23 others for which no figures are available. Since most of the latter were clearly very small, the median Massachusetts population is somewhat inflated.) See the censuses in Everts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, comps., *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), 31-40, 58-61. See also Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town, The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736* (New York, 1970), for the interrelationships of population pressures, settlement patterns, and town politics in a Bay Colony community.

³⁷ St. James's (Christ) Church, Derby, Recs., V, 1, 127; church wardens and vestrymen of Christ Church, Derby, to the S.P.G. Secretary, May 7, 1748, and accompanying bond, S.P.G. MSS, B 2, nos. 13, 14; Estate of Abel Gunn, Derby, 1766, no. 4573, Conn. State Library; Records of the Congregational Church, Oxford, Conn., 1741-1929, I, 17, 43-44, 55; Orcutt and Beardsley, *Derby*, 145-146, 233; Norman Litchfield and Sabina Connolly Hoyt, *History of the Town of Oxford, Connecticut* (n.p., 1960), 211.

Lights of the First Society and the other two New Lights of the White Haven Society, and recognized the ambitions of outlying districts by allotting one selectman each to the societies of North Haven, East Haven, and Amity.⁴⁰ Combining geographical dominance by the original settlement site with a balancing of its chief religious groups, this arrangement continued unbroken for a decade, by which time the growth of the port's Trinity Church and the formation of the Fair Haven Society by White Haven dissidents necessitated a readjustment. In the 1773 election the First Society resigned one of their selectmen's posts to Stephen Mansfield, a Trinity church warden, the sacrifice being more nominal than real in view of Trinity's support of the Old Light interest in deputy contests. The following year a reallocation of the port's four seats was completed and formally recognized when the annual town meeting "Voted that there be one Selectman in the first Society one in White Haven one in ye Church [Trinity] and one in Fair Haven." Church warden Isaac Doolittle assumed Trinity's seat, the creation of which was a tacit admission that if urban New Haven was to dominate the town's affairs, it must achieve a degree of harmony within its limits, entailing an equal voice for all sizable groups, Anglicans included.⁴¹

Any attempt to account for Anglican political participation must deal with the fact that Anglican officeholders of the pre-Revolutionary period seldom entered the world as the sons of Anglican parents, to be nurtured as Churchmen from infancy. The vast majority were former Congregationalists. Of the fifty-six men who served as deputies in the Assembly a mere five are known to have been born into Anglican households. Although another three possibly came within that category, forty-eight of the fifty-six definitely began life as Congregationalists. Seven of this convert group became Anglicans in childhood as a result of their fathers' entering the Church of England. Fourteen abandoned the churches of the Standing Order in early adulthood, that is, before the age of thirty, and twenty-seven, or approximately half the total number of Anglican deputies, were converted at a later age, with a significant number becoming Churchmen after their fortieth or even fiftieth years. The disappearance of key Congregational records and lacunae in others make impossible a numerical account of the precise relationship of the forty-

one adult converts to the churches from which they defected. Nevertheless, if the extant records are typical, they indicate that almost all these men had achieved the degree of Congregational membership that baptism conferred and that many of them had been received to full communion. For example, among the converts elected as deputies were a former deacon of the First Church of Newtown and a former pastor of the Fourth Church of Guilford.

The fact that almost all Anglican officeholders were originally Congregationalists complicates the effort to explain the active role of Churchmen in Connecticut politics. The apparent anomaly of choosing Anglicans for public posts was compounded when the persons so chosen were deserters from the New England Way. An abandoned seat in the meetinghouse, a decisive appearance at the local Christ Church or Trinity—few happenings in the humdrum world of town and society could have caused more talk or been more dramatic. Yet mature men could act thus, breaking the sacred bonds of covenant and declaring by their actions that New England's deepest foundations were foolishly laid, and still not forfeit their claims to the public's confidence. The question of Anglican participation in Connecticut's political life is, at bottom, the paradox of participation by such men.

That paradox is resolved by the fact that what may seem to have been the greatest handicap of these politicians was, in truth, no sizable disadvantage. The presumed effect of their having forsaken as adults the churches of the Standing Order was largely muted in towns where adult Anglicans consisted almost entirely of individuals who had taken the same action or, by the 1760s, of such persons and their grown children. Defection, it appears, was easier or at least more necessary to forgive because it occurred on a significant scale. The alternative course—the permanent ostracism of a considerable and growing body of townsmen—would have meant for some of the meetinghouse sharp lines of division within their nuclear families, for a majority the rupturing of kinship networks, and for almost all the withering of neighborhood ties. This price the eighteenth-century Congregational laity and, probably, a majority of their clergy were unwilling to pay. On the contrary, once initial feelings of bitterness had softened, individual Anglican converts resumed their places among kinsfolk and friends, while convert Anglican congregations eventually gained positions of respectability. This development has been missed by studies that have viewed Connecticut mistakenly

⁴⁰ Identifications of the residences of New Haven's selectmen derive from data accumulated for the study described in n. 44.

⁴¹ New Haven Town Records, 1769-1807, 30, 45-46, City Hall, New Haven, Conn.; Records of Trinity Church, New Haven, Conn., 1767-1939, I, 15, 19, 26.

as a unitary, continuously interacting, and largely static community, thus ignoring the generally superior importance of its individual town and society communities and, in consequence, mixing anti-Anglican references from various places and times as if geography and chronology did not matter. To see how strife was replaced by friendly accommodation, it is necessary to chart, at the town and society level, the reception of Anglican congregations. In these local settings, where blood and physical propinquity outweighed theological considerations, Anglican politicians were relieved of the incubus of their personal defections and were freed to capitalize on their substance, their education, Old Light-New Light quarrels, and geographical rivalries, in efforts to gain the franchises of Congregational townsmen.

That Connecticut Churchmen were, for the most part, of local stock, rather than an alien, intrusive element, is evident from the letters of the S.P.G. missionaries who served as their pastors. "There is not any of our Communion, or that attend my Ministry; but Such as receiv'd their education in the Independent way, excepting one," wrote Ebenezer Punderson in 1741, and his sentence, with its exception excised or slightly increased, might have served as the report of almost all his colleagues at that time and for some years thereafter.⁴² Moreover, the break with the churches of the Standing Order was anything but clean. Those who became Churchmen left in the meetinghouse fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and at times even children and spouses, to say nothing of remoter kin, or they might wed Congregationalists after their defection. These marriage patterns explain the inclusion of the wives of Anglicans among the categories of persons to be seated in New Milford's meetinghouse in 1762 and Redding's in 1763. In New Haven's "compact part" the religious census taken in 1762 by Ezra Stiles reveals the same types of unions.⁴³ When its information is related to the genealogical data obtainable for that district, the results afford a striking illustration of the kinship relationships that joined Churchmen and Congregationalists in Connecticut towns.

⁴² Ebenezer Punderson to the S.P.G. Secretary, May 25, 1741, S.P.G. MSS, B 9, fol. 37. A comparison of the names appended to parish petitions for S.P.G. aid or found in such other parish records as survive with names in local vital records, as to the indigenous character of Anglican membership.

⁴³ Records of the Congregational Church, New Milford, Conn., 1753-1938, I, 37; Records of the Congregational Church, Redding, Conn., 1729-1882, III, 62; "Number of Inhab. in . . . New Haven," in Dexter, ed., *Itineraries of Stiles*, 42-48; "Episco. Families within compact part of N. Haven," Jan. 27, 1762, *ibid.*, 49-50.

According to Stiles's enumeration, the port of New Haven on January 27, 1762, included 212 households headed by males of British stock.⁴⁴ Eighty-seven of these men worshipped at the First Church and eighty-nine at White Haven, while Trinity's modest total was thirty. Of the Churchmen, eleven were natives of the town; seven of them had married into local families. The nineteen strangers included eight men who had wed elsewhere before settling in New Haven and eleven who had found wives among its inhabitants. Thus although Trinity had in all likelihood the highest proportion of heads of households born outside its community of any Anglican congregation located in an early-settled Connecticut town, its people's lives with respect to kinship connections were firmly enmeshed with those of Old Lights and New. Children, stepchildren, and grandchildren, parents, stepparents, and grandparents, siblings and stepsiblings, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, and first cousins of twenty-three Churchmen and/or their wives could be found in no fewer than 71 out of a total of 182 Congregational households. First cousinship formed the sole blood bond for four Trinity families; nineteen had more intimate meetinghouse connections. Anglican households were related to from one to twenty-six Congregational households, the median being 8.0 and the mean 7.9. For Congregationalists so connected, the comparable range was one to seven Anglican households; the median was 2.0, the mean 2.6. As many New Light as Old Light families had Anglican ties, a fact nicely illustrated by their ecclesiastical leadership: both meetinghouse pastors, the First Church's three deacons, and two of White Haven's three deacons were embraced by Trinity's kinship network. Nevertheless, the Old Lights' ties were significantly stronger. Of the First Church's group of Anglican-connected families, all but one, compared to only half of their White Haven counterparts, had Trinity relatives closer than first cousins.

New Haven's port area population was exceptionally mobile in terms of in-migration, compared to the town's outlying societies. More than 40 percent of the 212 heads of families in 1762 were strangers, the figures for First Church and White Haven men, in each case 37 percent, being

⁴⁴ The statements that follow concerning households and individuals in New Haven's port area and in its outlying society of North Haven rest on data being assembled for a community study of New Haven, 1638-1800. Utilizing a variety of techniques including historical demography, the study draws on printed genealogies, especially Donald Lines Jacobus, "Families of Ancient New Haven," *New Haven Genealogical Magazine*, I-VIII (1922-1932), on vital, church, and land records, probate and other court registers, minutes of town and society meetings, and a miscellany of other materials.

almost identical to that for Trinity's native-born contingent. In agricultural North Haven, on the other hand, heads of families were overwhelmingly of local stock. Such a situation—much the most common in mid-eighteenth-century Connecticut communities—dictated the instantaneous appearance of a sizable Anglican-Congregationalist kinship network whenever defections from the Standing Order produced yet another congregation of Churchmen.

St. John's, North Haven, was organized in 1759 as the lengthy pastorate of Isaac Stiles, the society's Congregational minister, approached its turbulent end. A year later Stiles's son, enumerating St. John's adult male members, simultaneously compiled a roster of North Haven families.⁴⁵ Merging these data produces a list of 159 male heads of households, 19 of whom were Churchmen. Reconstitution of the 159 families reveals that a mere 7 percent of the men heading them were born outside New Haven and that Anglicans more frequently fell in that category, as they did, for example, in the port area. Still, with 84 percent of its heads of families natives of the town, St. John's was an indigenous institution to a much greater degree than Trinity. This fact was reflected in St. John's kinship network which, delimited by the same relationships and with 18 of its heads of families and/or spouses involved, took in 85 of North Haven's 140 Congregational households or 61 percent in contrast to 39 percent of Trinity's comparable group. All of the eighteen St. John's families had local Congregational relatives of a degree nearer than first cousins. At the same time such cousinship—a significant index of population stability—played a greater role than at Trinity in adding Congregational households to the kindred total: 35 percent of North Haven's Anglican-connected families were related exclusively by this tie, compared to 28 percent of the port area's. Largely because of this factor North Haven's Anglican households, with individual kinship connections of one to thirty Congregational households, had a mean connection of 12.4, a number considerably larger than the mean for Trinity and, as a proportion of their respective districts' total numbers of Congregational families, double that of the port parish. The same consideration accounts for certain disparities between the statistics of North Haven's Churchmen-related Congregational households and those of New Haven's "compact part." Although both groups were connected to a median of 2.0 and a

mean of 2.6 Anglican families, the former's range was more extensive: one to eleven households of St. John's total of nineteen as against the above noted figure of one to seven of Trinity's total of thirty. As for ties with the local Congregational leadership, the situation of St. John's, with members related to both of North Haven's deacons (the meetinghouse pastorate was vacant), approximated that of Trinity.

Kinship networks, then, embraced both Churchmen and Congregationalists, joining the former not merely to the rank and file of the meetinghouses but also to their elites. But did such networks serve to reintegrate convert Churchmen into their communities, generating a renewed affection and regard, a revived sense of closeness and identity? Or did defection from the Standing Order permanently isolate the individuals involved? Did such departures irrevocably weaken or break the psychological ties of blood relationships? Did they—to employ a useful imagery—create dead branches on intertwined family trees?

New Haven's probate and land records yield tentative answers to these questions. They likewise indicate whether neighborhood ties could survive the crisis of defection. Not surprisingly, the evidence is most abundant for Churchmen of substantial estates, notably Stephen Mansfield, mentioned above as the town's first Anglican selectman. In Stiles's census year of 1762 Mansfield's father, Jonathan, completed his first decade as a First Church deacon. Deacon Mansfield's will, dated 1767, gave no hint of family religious divisions. To Stephen and another defecting son, Derby's S.P.G. missionary, he bequeathed property equal to that assigned a third son who adhered to the First Church; he named all his sons executors; he treated equally his daughters of the First Church and White Haven. Two years later a nephew of Stephen Mansfield, also of the First Church, designated his Anglican uncle as one of his executors, while the nephew's brother-in-law—like Mansfield on Stiles's Trinity roster—later became his son's guardian.⁴⁶ Neighbors as well as relatives maintained friendly contacts with Stephen Mansfield. A typical illustration is provided by a land transaction of 1763 in which a First Church member, dealing with another Congregationalist, summoned Mansfield along with a First

⁴⁶ Dexter, comp., *Members of the First Church*, 46; will of Jonathan Mansfield, Oct. 1, 1767, of Jonathan Mansfield, Jr., Aug. 27, 1769, guardianship of John Mansfield, June 3, 1773, Register of Probate Records, New Haven District, copy, XII, 21-22; XI, 19-20, 369, Conn. State Library. As regards guardianship of minors it appears significant that in 1762 three other heads of Trinity families were performing that service for Congregational nephews or brothers-in-law, with the consent of Congregational mothers and despite the fact that adult male Congregational kin of an equally close degree were available.

⁴⁵ "Episco. Church in No. Haven," 1760, in Dexter, ed., *Itineraries of Stiles*, 76; "FAMILIES IN NO HAVEN A D 1760," in Dexter, ed., *Literary Diary of Stiles*, I, 177-178.

Church deacon to witness the deed.⁴⁷

For North Haven Anglicans probate and land records again afford glimpses of a society in which ties of kinship and neighborhood weathered defection to the Church of England. One of North Haven's earliest known defectors was Abraham Blakeslee, a Churchman by 1729. His father, Ebenezer, disposed of his entire estate in 1735, deeding land to Abraham "for the love good will and affection which I have and Do Bear unto my loving son," language identical to that used in deeds of the same date directed to other, still Congregational offspring. Abraham's will of 1739 was witnessed by three Congregational neighbors, pride of place being given the signature of the Reverend Isaac Stiles; his executors, too, were of the meetinghouse: "my trusty Friend Caleb Atwater . . . and my loving Brother Isaac Blakeslee."⁴⁸ This same Isaac Blakeslee, drafting his own will in 1765, named as executor his brother's son and namesake, although the family's religious divisions had continued, the second Abraham Blakeslee being then, as he had been since its founding and was to be until his death, one of the officers of St. John's. Abraham Blakeslee, Jr., was no more isolated than his father had been from other-minded North Haven neighbors. In 1760, the date he appeared in Stiles's list of St. John's households, he became, despite his lack of any blood tie, guardian of the son of a Congregational widow. In 1763, in one of many such transactions that might be cited, he witnessed a land conveyance, the parties and the other witness (all unrelated to him) being meeting-house adherents. And in 1771 he is found performing another neighborly task, joining with his fellow witness of the 1763 deed to take the inventory of a deceased Congregationalist's estate. Such easy, unforced associations surely make less surprising Abraham Blakeslee's choice as ensign (1761), lieutenant (1764), and captain (1770) of a North Haven militia company.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Eliakim Hitchcock to Michael Todd, Aug. 8, 1763, Register of Deeds, New Haven, Conn., copy, XXV, 258, Conn. State Library. Deeds of the same sort—Congregationalist to Congregationalist attested by an Anglican, neighbor to one or both of the parties but related to neither—are extant for 1761-1762 for as many as 11 of Trinity's 30 heads of families.

⁴⁸ Ebenezer Blakeslee to Abraham Blakeslee, Feb. 21, 1734/5, Register of Deeds, New Haven, Conn., copy, X, 140-141, Conn. State Library; will of Abraham Blakeslee, Apr. 16, 1739, Probate Recs., New Haven Dist., copy, IX, 239.

⁴⁹ Guardianship of Aaron Smith, July 4, 1766; will of Isaac Blakeslee, June 6, 1765; inventory of Isaac Thorpe, Sept. 26, 1771, Probate Recs., New Haven Dist., copy, IX, 369; X, 493-494; XI, 219; James and Martha Todd to Jacob Brockett, Sept. 3, 1763, Register of Deeds, New Haven, copy, X, 139-141; XXVI, 168; Christ Church, Stratford, Recs., I, 31; Register of St. John's Church, North Haven, Conn., 1759-1858, 4-46 *passim*; Trumbull and Hoadly, eds., *Conn. Records*, XI, 552; XII, 352; XIII, 294.

New Haven's probate records do not lend themselves to a systematic analysis of the emotional relationships of Congregational fathers and Anglican sons as evidenced by the bequest of property or the denial thereof to men joining Trinity or St. John's. Most fathers died before their offspring defected; some of those who died afterward left no will.⁵⁰ Moreover, even if the probate evidence were conclusive in this regard, it could provide no decisive test of the temper of Anglican-Congregational relationships beyond the circle of the nuclear family. Neighbors and distant kin, questions of religion aside, appeared in wills only in a most selective fashion. Likewise, the situation that caused an Anglican relative or friend to be weighed as the possible guardian of a Congregational minor occurred infrequently. For these wider relationships, as for the nuclear family, New Haven's probate evidence is suggestive yet inadequate. The same adjectives also apply, although the latter one to a lesser degree (the evidence, at least for members of Trinity Church, is more comprehensive) to the data that land records yield with respect to neighborhood relationships. Additional evidence of other sorts is therefore desirable and, indeed, if the argument offered here is correct, it ought to be forthcoming. The reintegration of Anglican converts into the affective circle of kin and community—an inclusion making it possible for Churchmen to seek public posts—should have manifested itself in other ways. Local records reveal that such manifestations did in fact occur, that they took a variety of forms, and that they can be found in one form or in several in almost every community that chose Anglican officeholders.

⁵⁰ Probate data usable for an inquiry of this sort are available for a similarly constituted intergenerational group, the sons in this sample being Connecticut-born convert Churchmen who, securing orders in England, became missionaries of the S.P.G. Since these men uniformly defected at an early age—during or soon after their Yale years—a large proportion had fathers living at the date of defection, and most such fathers—as their sons' costly educations indicated—had properties of a size customarily disposed of by will. Of the nine fathers who did not follow their offspring into the Church of England and who made wills prior to the Revolution, only one left no bequest to his son. Since the testator had other children and little property, this may imply nothing more than that he judged the convert's Yale expenses a full portion of his estate. Wills of Samuel Johnson, May 7, 1727, Register of Probate Records, Guilford District, copy, II, 178; of Daniel Palmer, Dec. 16, 1757, *ibid.*, VII, 237-240; of Thomas Punderson, May 23, 1741, Probate Recs., New Haven Dist., copy, X, 434-435; of Jonathan Mansfield, Oct. 1, 1767, *ibid.*, XII, 21-22, all in Conn. State Library; will of Israhiah Wetmore, Mar. 26, 1741, in Charles William Manwaring, comp., *A Digest of the Early Connecticut Probate Records*, III (Hartford, Conn., 1906), 476; wills of Isaac Beach, Sept. 13, 1740; of John Dean, Oct. 8, 1748; of William Chandler, May 1, 1753; of John Camp, Apr. 9, 1764, probate file papers, Conn. State Library.

Given the original religious affiliations of the overwhelming majority of adult Connecticut Churchmen, the most explicit evidences of harmony between Anglican converts and Congregationalists are casual references to Anglican-Congregational concord. Thus St. John's, Stamford, witnessed (1750) "a more Catholic and Charitable disposition diffusing it Self among the Dissenters"; Simsbury's Congregationalists exhibited (1771) "a more harmonious temper . . . than formerly" toward St. Andrew's, Scotland, and St. Ann's, Salmonbrook; Norwich's Congregationalists appeared (1774) "of late . . . friendly and well disposed towards" the town's Christ Church. St. James's in Waterbury's First Society, as well as the churches in the same town's Northbury Society and in Farmington's New Cambridge Society, enjoyed (1760) "a pretty good understanding" with their neighbors, and a "good agreement" subsisted (1764) between St. George's, Milford, and Milford's meetinghouses. "Peace" typified (1762) the relations of St. Paul's, Norwalk, and "peace and charity" (1762) those of Christ Church, Stratford, with local Congregationalists; "Peace and brotherly Kindness" (1764) those of St. Paul's, Wallingford, and of St. John's, North Haven; "harmony and peace" (1772) those of Redding's and Newtown's churches. As for Trinity Church, New Haven, and West Haven's church, their contacts with Congregationalists were such that the latter reportedly characterized them (1771) as "a sober, regular and good sort of people." Middletown's First Church furnishes a final and, as regards direct testimony by a Standing Order congregation, unique statement, testifying in the divisive Revolutionary period (1779) to "the amicable Spirit of Candor mutuall charity and friendship which has So Long Distinguish'd and Done honour to the Episcopal church in this town and our Society."⁵¹

Three things are especially notable about these reports: they appear in numbers no earlier than the 1760s and 1770s, the period when Anglican political participation, as measured by officeholding, reached its height;

the harmonies they reveal were locally based; and reports that incorporate a sequential reference indicate that friendly relations had followed a period of conflict. The significance of these characteristics, all interrelated, lies in their suggestion that time generally was needed for the twin forces of kinship and residential propinquity to repair the breaches caused by defections from the Standing Order and the consequent emergence of organized Anglicanism. Since congregations of Churchmen were forming throughout the half-century preceding the Revolution, at any given point in time peace in certain communities was quite compatible with strife in others. By the 1760s, however, communities whose interdenominational relations were cordial greatly outnumbered those reporting climates of hostility, a reflection of the slackening pace of totally new Anglican foundations.⁵² By 1771 a veteran S.P.G. missionary could write of his parishes: "Though, at the first setting up of the Church in these parts [1732], the dissenters discovered [i.e., disclosed] a very bitter spirit, yet now we live in more friendship and amity with them than they do among themselves."⁵³

The process of gradual accommodation is well illustrated by developments in Stratford's Ripton Society, where St. Paul's, largely the creation of defecting Old Lights and earlier converts from the Standing Order, opened its doors in 1743. Ripton's New Light pastor vehemently denounced the dedication sermon of the new church and so stirred up his hearers that some of them daubed the Anglican structure with dung. As late as 1755 St. Paul's complained of persecution on the score of ministerial rates, "the Dissenters . . . daily threatening to take our Estates from us, or carry us to Gaol for non payment." But the arrival of a resident S.P.G. missionary put an end to that long-standing cause of contention, and by 1759 Congregationalists often attended St. Paul's services, including some "who, a year ago, would not have been seen in a Church at publick worship no sooner than in a mass house, (they declared them

⁵¹ Letters addressed to the S.P.G. Secretary by Ebenezer Dibble, Sept. 29, 1750, S.P.G. MSS, B 18, no. 29; Roger Viets, Dec. 26, 1771, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History of Protestant Episcopal Church*, II, 172; John Tyler, May 18, 1774, *ibid.*, 196-197; James Scovil, June 26, 1760, *ibid.*, I, 308; Christopher Newton, July 9, 1764, S.P.G. MSS, B 23, no. 286; Jeremiah Leaming, Mar. 20, 1762, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History of Protestant Episcopal Church*, II, 16; Edward Winslow, July 19, 1762, *ibid.*, 31; Samuel Andrews, June 26, 1764, S.P.G. MSS, B 23, no. 8; John Beach, May 5, 1772, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History of Protestant Episcopal Church*, II, 182-183; Bela Hubbard, July 8, 1771, *ibid.*, 167; Records of the First Congregational Church, Middletown, Conn., 1702-1864, 2d Ser., III, 47.

⁵² Of 46 Anglican congregations that erected church buildings by 1774, 25 emerged as organized bodies between 1724 and 1748 and another 20 between 1748 and 1771. (Christ Church, Stratford, was organized in 1707.) Twenty-three of the earlier group represented the initial appearance of Anglicanism in a community; two, in different degrees, the division of existing Anglican churches. Such divisions produced a majority of the later group. For traditional organizational dates, some of them inaccurate, see the capsule parish histories in Nelson R. Burt, comp., *Inventary of the Church Archives of Connecticut, Protestant Episcopal* (New Haven, Conn., 1940), 65-118, 125-126, 132, 138, 237-238.

⁵³ John Beach to the S.P.G. Secretary, Oct. 2, 1771, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History of Protestant Episcopal Church*, II, 169.

to be one and the same)." Communal reconciliation was further indicated about 1765 by the permission granted the Churchmen to build a larger house of worship on Ripton green. It received its ultimate consolidation in 1769 when St. Paul's, petitioning the General Assembly for legal recognition as an ecclesiastical society, obtained the support of Ripton's Congregationalists, happy to oblige "our Brethren" and convinced that it was "Reasonable they should Tax them Selves and Gather their own Rates as a privileged due to Every English Subject."⁵⁴

Of the manifestations of a renewed communalism observed in Ripton, the most significant was the willingness of men of the Standing Order to join Churchmen in one worshipping company. This went beyond forbearance or toleration. It constituted the clearest triumph of kinship and neighborhood over theology, since it implied the lawfulness of joining in public prayer with defectors—culpable schismatics—as well as approval of their unscriptural holy days and liturgical forms.⁵⁵ Although certain ministers of the Connecticut establishment publicly denounced or privately sought to check attendance at Anglican services, Congregationalists—among them "those of the first Repute"—appeared at churches at Christmas and on the Sabbath, and there they behaved with "the utmost Decency."⁵⁶ From Stamford (1750), Waterbury (1760), New London (1760), Hebron (1766), New Haven (1772), and Norwich (1774)

⁵⁴ Samuel Johnson to the S.P.G. Secretary, Sept. 30, 1743, *ibid.*, I, 197; church wardens and vestrymen of St. Paul's, Ripton, to the S.P.G. Secretary, Mar. 11, 1755, S.P.G. MSS, Journals, XIII, 60; Christopher Newton to the S.P.G. Secretary, July 2, 1759, Jan. 3, 1766, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History of Protestant Episcopal Church*, I, 302-303; S.P.G. MSS, B 23, no. 289; J. Frederick Kelly, *Early Connecticut Meetinghouses . . .* (New York, 1948), I, 238, 240; John Warner Barber, *Connecticut Historical Collections . . .* (New Haven, Conn., 1836), 386-387; petition of Anglicans of Ripton, New Stratford, and North Stratford Societies, May 2, 1768, and supporting statement of Ripton and New Stratford Society committees, Jan. 3, 1769, Conn. Arch., Ecclesiastical Affairs, 1st Ser., XV, docs. 313, 314, Conn. State Library.

⁵⁵ For the argument that Congregationalists defecting to Anglicanism "do really contract the awful Guilt of Schism," see Noah Hobart, *A Serious Address to the Members of the Episcopal Separation in New-England . . .* (Boston, 1748), 106-126. Thomas De Laune, *A Plea for the Non-Conformists* (London, 1684), is a classic Dissenting critique of the Book of Common Prayer's regimen of worship. Frequently cited by New England Congregationalists, it was briefly refuted by Samuel Johnson of Christ Church, Stratford, in *A Letter from a Minister of the Church of England to His Dissenting Parishioners* (New York, 1733), 10-15, 22-28.

⁵⁶ Letters addressed to the S.P.G. Secretary by Solomon Palmer, Mar. 2, 1761, S.P.G. MSS, Journals, XV, 132; Samuel Peters, Dec. 27, 1764, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History of Protestant Episcopal Church*, II, 74; Matthew Graves, Jan. 1, 1772, *ibid.*, 175; Solomon Palmer, Dec. 26, 1765, S.P.G. MSS, B 23, no. 312,

came typical reports of such attendance.⁵⁷ For the most part it was occasional, yet at times it became almost routine. "As they have no settled dissenting minister among them," Ebenezer Dibble of St. John's, Stamford, wrote of Greenwich's First Society in 1749, "they have invited me into their meetinghouse, and the inhabitants of all sorts generally attend when I preach there." In Redding, where the meetinghouse stood distant from the Anglican church, "all the inhabitants who live near the Church join with us," the Reverend John Beach noted in 1771; "scarce any go by the Church to meeting."⁵⁸ For many lay Congregationalists the increasingly friendly intermixing of Dissenters and Churchmen tended to blur or even to erase the two groups' theological differences. One result of this, aside from mixed congregations, was the vote of Oxford's Congregationalists in 1765 and of Cheshire's in 1774 to admit specified individuals, who were departing the local Anglican churches, to full communion on the basis of their having been Anglican communicants instead of propounding them for admission *de novo*. Another was the 1766 vote of Northbury "that any Member of Regular Standing in the Church of England Should be admitted to occasional Communion with us in this Church for the time to come—and like wise." Still another was the inviting of Hebron's S.P.G. missionary to deliver the sermon traditionally given by a Congregational pastor at a freemen's gathering, which he did at the September 1764 election meeting in the First Society's meetinghouse "to the general approbation of all present."⁵⁹ A fourth materialized in 1771 when Middletown's First Society appointed a committee including

⁵⁷ Letters addressed to the S.P.G. Secretary by Ebenezer Dibble, Mar. 26, 1750, S.P.G. MSS, B 18, no. 28; James Scovil, June 26, 1760, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History of Protestant Episcopal Church*, I, 308; Matthew Graves, Dec. 13, 1760, S.P.G. MSS, Journals, XV, 81; Samuel Peters, May 12, 1766, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History of Protestant Episcopal Church*, II, 88; Bela Hubbard, Apr. 4, 1772, *ibid.*, 181; John Tyler, May 18, 1774, *ibid.*, 196-197.

⁵⁸ Ebenezer Dibble to the S.P.G. Secretary, Sept. 29, 1749, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History of Protestant Episcopal Church*, I, 255; John Beach to the S.P.G. Secretary, Oct. 2, 1771, *ibid.*, II, 169. Similarly, when it was proposed to move the Anglican church in Groton's North Society from its original site to Poquetanuck village, the village's Congregationalists, remote from any meeting-house, reportedly appeared "pleased with the Motion, and offer to contribute towards it, that they may have public Worship of some kind among them." John Tyler to the S.P.G. Secretary, June 7, 1773, S.P.G. MSS, Connecticut, 1635-1782. ⁵⁹ Congregational Church, Oxford, Recs., II, 3, 13; Records of the Congregational Church, Cheshire, Conn., 1724-1917, II, 138; III, 7; Records of the Congregational Church, Plymouth (Northbury), Conn., 1705-1810, I; Samuel Peters to the S.P.G. Secretary, Dec. 27, 1764, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History of Protestant Episcopal Church*, II, 74.

Churchmen to improve psalmody—a part of worship performed by Connecticut Anglicans in much the same fashion as their meetinghouse associates—apparently with the intent that its work should benefit Christ Church as well as the First Church.⁶⁰

The supplying of a publicly owned site for Ripton's second Anglican edifice likewise exemplified a practice frequently encountered in Connecticut. Here, too, the impulse was communal in origin—a feeling that Anglican neighbors and kin, if they so wished, could rightfully place their “church houses” on public land in the same manner that meeting-houses often were located.⁶¹ No fewer than seventeen and very likely a somewhat larger number of the colony's forty-six Anglican churches of 1774 enjoyed such sites.⁶² The town proprietors donated lots at Norwalk (1734), Ridgefield (1740), Guilford (1747), and North Guilford (1753).⁶³ At Stamford (1742), Waterbury (1742), and Newtown (1746), as well as at Middletown (1749), Sharon (1755), and Wallingford (1757), town meetings voted sites, the last of these in response to a petition from Churchmen who labeled a favorable vote “a mark of your Good Will Love and affection” and affirmed their “hope and Desire to Cultivate Cherish and Maintain Christian Charity Love and Freindship with our Freinds and neighbors, Members of this Community.”⁶⁴ The North Haven lot (1759) was furnished by the society, while the precise bodies voting the lots at Stratfield (ca. 1746), Ridgebury (ca. 1760), Ripton (ca. 1765), New Milford (ca. 1765), Milford (1765), and at Goshen (ca. 1767) are unknown.⁶⁵ In no case is there evidence of opposition to these

⁶⁰ First Congregational Church, Middletown, Recs., 2d Ser., III, 20-21.

⁶¹ Societies newly created in long-settled towns frequently had to purchase meetinghouse sites. Churchman John Whitlock's deed of a site to Ridgefield's Ridgebury Society (1762) for “the love and respect I have and do bear unto said Dissenting Society” testified in a unique way to Anglican-Congregational harmony. Hurd, comp., *Fairfield County*, 673.

⁶² A survey of secondary materials has failed to reveal whether 10 churches were built on public or private property.

⁶³ Edwin Hall, comp., *The Ancient Historical Records of Norwalk, Conn.* . . . (Norwalk, Conn., 1865), 122; George L. Rockwell, *The History of Ridgefield, Connecticut* (Ridgefield, Conn., 1927), 240-241; Steiner, *Guilford*, 373, 382.

⁶⁴ Davis, *Wallingford*, 246-248; Huntington, *Stamford*, 315-316; Henry Bronson, *The History of Waterbury, Connecticut* . . . (Waterbury, Conn., 1858), 294-295; Jane E. Johnson, *Newtown's History and Historiam Ezra Levan Johnson* . . . (Newtown, Conn., 1917), 80; Middletown Town Votes and Proprietors Records, II, 23; Charles F. Sedgwick, *A History of the Town of Sharon* . . . (Hartford, Conn., 1842), 38; Samuel J. McCormick, ed., *The Rev. Samuel Peters' L.L.D. General History of Connecticut* . . . (New York, 1877), 162. When the site granted by Waterbury proved unsatisfactory, the town voted public funds for the purchase of another.

⁶⁵ Records of the Congregational Church, North Haven, Conn., 1716-1910, I, 21;

grants,⁶⁶ nor was any recorded when towns and societies permitted Anglican congregations that had no church buildings to assemble in school, town, and courthouses and, on rare occasions, in meetinghouses: the individual cases reported earlier make credible the statement that in 1774 this was the universal practice.⁶⁷ Nor were protests registered when Stratford's town meeting in 1734 provided land on which to build a S.P.G. school; when its proprietors in 1736 granted acreage for a glebe to such of their number as were Churchmen and, more important, “our friends and neighbors”; when Norwalk's proprietors took like action in 1747 and 1748; or when the proprietors of New Milford in 1745 granted land, not only for the town's Anglican pastor, but also—in a preeminent manifestation of a communalism that permanently ostracized no group claiming membership on the basis of kinship and neighborhood—for the support of traveling Friends who addressed the colony's only Quaker meeting.⁶⁸

The accoutrements of houses of worship provide yet another illustration of community bonds transcending religious differences, with New Milford once again supplying the most striking example. In 1756 its First Society, having built a new meetinghouse, met to dispose of the furnishings of the old, which had been erected for the use of the whole, and at that time wholly Congregational, town in 1720. To the local Anglicans the meeting gave three-quarters of the body seats and two pews, to the

Samuel Johnson to the S.P.G. Secretary, Mar. 30, 1745, S.P.G. MSS, B 13, no. 102; Orcutt, *Stratford*, 524; Hurd, comp., *Fairfield County*, 76, 673-675; Kelly, *Early Connecticut Meetinghouses*, I, 237-238; Christopher Newton to the S.P.G. Secretary, Jan. 3, 1766, S.P.G. MSS, B 23, no. 289; Barber, *Connecticut Historical Collections*, 386-387, 479; Samuel Orcutt, *History of the Towns of New Milford and Bridge-water, Connecticut* (Hartford, Conn., 1882), 160-161, 166; St. Peter's (St. George's), Milford, Recs., I, 8-9, 11; A. G. Hibbard, *History of the Town of Goshen, Connecticut* (Hartford, Conn., 1897), 158. Like its successor of 1765, New Milford's original Anglican church was built on a public site, granted in 1743 by the town meeting.

⁶⁶ Duane H. Hurd, comp., *History of Middlesex County* . . . (New York, 1884), 138, repeats a tale of difficulties supposedly encountered by the founders of Christ Church, Middletown, when they sought a public site; it cannot be squared with contemporary sources.

⁶⁷ The situation as of 1774 is summarized in Samuel Peters to Samuel Seabury, Oct. 30, 1783, Samuel Peters Papers, Church Historical Society, Austin, Tex. For individual instances of such accommodation see Ebenezer Punderson to the S.P.G. Secretary, Oct. 18, 1759, S.P.G. MSS, B 18, no. 50; Christopher Newton to the S.P.G. Secretary, July 9, 1764, *ibid.*, B 23, no. 286; Kelly, *Early Connecticut Meetinghouses*, II, 313, 319; Jeremiah Leaming to the S.P.G. Secretary, Sept. 29, 1762, S.P.G. MSS, Journals, XV, 341; Albert C. Bates, ed., *Records of Rev. Roger Vets* . . . (Hartford, Conn., 1893), 53; J. Rupert Simonds, *A History of the First Church and Society of Branford, Connecticut* (New Haven, Conn., 1919), 114.

⁶⁸ Orcutt, *Stratford*, 322-324; Hall, comp., *Norwalk*, 122; Orcutt, *New Milford and Bridge-water*, 165.

Quakers the remainder of the body seats, to Newbury Society the pulpit, and to New Milford's part of New Preston Society the gallery seats, the vote constituting a cordial acceptance of the fact that four new groups, two geographically and two ideologically based, had emerged within and remained parts of a once unitary community.⁶⁹ Elsewhere communal accommodations focused on a costly accessory that New Milford's first meetinghouse lacked: a bell. When church and meetinghouse stood within a short distance of each other and one—usually the smaller church—was without bell turret or tower, friendly relations could produce neighborly arrangements. Thus Guilford's First Society in 1756 "Voted that the Conformists to the Church of England Shall have Liberty to have the Bell Ringed upon their feast and fast Days." When Newtown's First Society proposed to obtain a new bell in 1767, Churchmen were allowed to share the cost so as to secure its use. The same agreement or one similar was reached when West Haven's Congregationalists added a steeple to their meetinghouse in 1775. Middletown exhibited a variant, the town's Christ Church having voted in 1759 "to Comply with the proposal of the prisbyterian Society . . . they being at Half the Charge of a Bell to be Hung in the Steple of the Church and to be Rung as well for their Use as ours."⁷⁰

A final manifestation of communalism appears in the implementation by towns and societies of Connecticut's Anglican relief law of 1727.⁷¹ Passed at a time when the colony's Churchmen composed but three organized congregations, it represented a consensus on the part of legislators, only the tiniest minority of whom could have had Anglican kin or neighbors. For a majority of the Assembly this lack of sustained and wide-ranging personal contacts probably remained unaltered as late as 1774: in only thirty-four of seventy-five towns did the Churchmen's proportion of the total white population rise as high as 5 percent.⁷² What

⁶⁹ Orcutt, *New Milford and Bridgewater*, 184-185. In a like gesture the town of Litchfield in 1767 voted "to divide the School Money for which the School Right was Sold between the Old Society the South Farms Society and the Church of England in Proportion to the List of each Part." Litchfield Town Records, 1715-1808, Town Office Building, Litchfield, Conn.

⁷⁰ Records of the First Congregational Church, Guilford, Conn., 1717-1921, I, 80; Records of the First Congregational Church, Newtown, Conn., 1742-1946, I, 37; II, 3; Holy Trinity (Christ Church), Middletown, Recs., B, 3, 19. See also First Congregational Church, Middletown, Recs., 2d Ser., III, 71, 75.

⁷¹ Trumbull and Hoadly, eds., *Conn. Records*, VII, 106-107. An explanatory act of 1746 is *ibid.*, IX, 218-219.

⁷² See map.

resulted from this situation was, first, the reluctance of the Assembly to place any appreciable number of Churchmen in public posts and, second, its failure to revise the 1727 statute. This grudgingly enacted, restrictive law continued in force until after the Revolution. Interpreted according to its framers' intent, it declared that in a given society the ministerial tax rate was to be determined by Congregational voters, that the resulting tax was to be levied indifferently on Congregationalists and Churchmen, that a Congregational-appointed collector was to gather the tax from both groups, but that the collector must pay the Churchmen's levies to their designated pastor provided they lived sufficiently close to his church to attend it regularly.

For several reasons—some practical, some rooted in pride—Anglicans chafed at these arrangements, and in communities where they formed a sizable group and thus could muster the sympathies of a widespread kinship/neighborhood network, the central government's procedures were quietly altered.⁷³ Initially, Churchmen were permitted to pay their taxes directly to their pastor or channel them through the church wardens, the Congregational collector contenting himself with the pastor's written discharge from all obligations. (The opportunity was extended to Churchmen who were served mainly by lay readers and consequently could not have claimed the benefit of even the statutory procedures when rewarding the clergymen who periodically visited them.) As Anglican churches grew in size, this arrangement was generally superseded by one in which a congregation, designating one of its members as its own collector of rates, ordinarily insured his legal authority through the device of another formal appointment, this time by the Congregational society. First observed at Newtown in 1748, the practice became the norm during the decade before the Revolution. Its creation and continuance obviously depended on interdenominational good will at the local level—on the sort of communalism revealed in West Haven's vote of 1769 to sanction a collector specifically "for our Brethren [of] the Church of England."⁷⁴ Equally dependent on this good will was the freedom eventually accorded West Haven's Churchmen and those of some other societies to employ a ministerial tax rate lower than that fixed by the Standing Order—a clear violation of the 1727 statute.

The most extensive local modification of the Anglican relief law to

⁷³ This paragraph derives principally from an examination of the Conn. State Library's holdings of the extant records of pre-Revolutionary Anglican churches and Congregational societies in which such churches were situated.

⁷⁴ First Congregational Church, West Haven, Recs., I, 127.

TABLE I
 ANGLICAN DEPUTIES TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1732 TO 1776

Town	Anglican % of White Pop., 1774	Anglican % of Deputation 1751-1763 ^a	Anglican % of Deputation 1763-1775 ^b	Anglican Deputies	First Elected	Last Elected	Tot. No. of terms
Branford	4	4	2	John Wilford 1710-1767	1758	1764	3
Derby	40	23	40	Abel Gunn d. 1769	1740	1766	31
				John Holbrook 1726-1801	1767	1775	6
				John Wooster 1719-1804	1771	1774	8
Goshen	20	0 ^c	4	Asaph Hall 1735-1800	1773	1776	3
Greenwich	17	21	0	Israel Knap 1705-1783	1745	1748	6
				Nathaniel Sackett 1720-1760	1755	1760	8
Groton	6	0	9	James Packer ca. 1681-1764	1732	1734	5
				Thomas Mumford 1728-1799	1773	1775	5
Guilford	7	6	0	Edmund Ward 1706-1779	1759	1760	3
Harwinton	4	0 ^c	5	Mark Prindle 1734-1804	1774	1775	2
Killingworth	3	0	19	Theophilus Morgan 1732-1788	1768	1774	9
Litchfield	17	4	8	Joseph Kilborn 1700-1756	1752	1753	2
				Abraham Kilborn 1708-1776	1769	1770	4
Middletown	8	2	25	Joseph Wright 1704-1775	1754	1754	1
				Richard Alsop 1726-1776	1764	1774	12
Milford	8	13	38	Edward Allen 1714-1778	1758	1774	11
				John Herpin 1722-1791	1761	1761	2
				David Baldwin 1724-1784	1764	1774	11
				Isaac Miles 1728-1780	1775	1776	2
New Haven	12	0	2	Enos Alling ca. 1719-1779	1764	1764	1
New London	5	0	0	Richard Durfey ca. 1698-1757	1744	1744	1
New Milford	24	10	8	Thomas Noble 1712-1783	1750	1774	4
				Jehiel Hawley 1713-1777	1753	1761	4
				Partridge Thacher 1714-1786	1759	1765	2
Newtown	55	38	57	Henry Glover 1703-1784	1748	1774	34
				John Glover 1701-ca. 1784	1749	1761	5
				Nathaniel Nichols 1707-1785	1751	1751	1
				Lemuel Camp 1701-1784	1753	1753	1
				Benjamin Curtis 1704-1782	1758	1758	1
				Jonathan Booth 1715-1790	1760	1760	1
				Daniel Booth 1704-1777	1762	1770	4
				Peter Nichols 1733-1799	1773	1774	3
Norwalk	19	5	33	John Beach 1734-1791	1775	1775	1
				James Brown 1682-1769	1756	1757	2
Redding	40	0 ^d	13 ^d	Thomas Belden 1731-1806	1768	1775	14
				Henry Lyon ca. 1730-1773	1769	1769	1
				David Lyon d. 1804	1769	1769	1
				Peter Fairchild 1729-ca. 1782	1774	1774	1
Ridgefield	20	0	2	Lemuel Morehouse 1728-ca. 1777	1775	1775	1
Salisbury	5	0 ^c	2 ^c	James Landon d. ca. 1786	?	1774	1+
Sharon	4	7 ^c	0	Samuel Dunham fl. 1745-1769	1758	1760	2
Simsbury	25	7	2	James Case 1693-1759	1744	1755	7
				Joshua Holcomb 1697-1772	1756	1756	1
				Hezekiah Holcomb 1726-1794	1773	1773	1
Stratford	33	21	29	Theophilus Nichols 1703-1774	1743	1772	30
				Edmund Lewis ca. 1679-1757	1744	1744	2
				Joseph Nichols d. 1773	1756	1756	1
				Joseph Wooster 1703-1791	1756	1756	1
				William S. Johnson 1727-1819	1761	1765	3
Wallingford	13	2	39	Macock Ward 1702-1783	1758	1773	16
				Titus Brockett 1700-1773	1764	1765	2
Waterbury	25	7	4	Joseph Brunson 1709-1771	1746	1746	1
				Ephraim Warner ca. 1709-1768	1752	1764	4
				George Nichols 1714-1788	1761	1761	1
Windsor	4	0	15	Josiah Phelps 1708-1791	1769	1775	7

NOTES

^a Elections of Sept. 1751 through Apr. 1763. ^b Election of Sept. 1763 through Apr. 1775.

^c Goshen and Harwinton initially sent deputies to the Assembly of Oct. 1756; Sharon, to that of Oct. 1755. The Sharon figure is the Anglican proportion of its 1755-1763 deputation.

^d Redding, first represented in the Assembly of Oct. 1767, was set off from Fairfield earlier that year. The figure given is the Anglican proportion of its 1767-1775 deputation.

^e The figures for Salisbury, represented in the Assembly from May 1757, are lowered by the inability to determine more precisely when James Landon became an Anglican. Landon was chosen deputy at 12 elections 1758-1774.

be found in surviving records followed on one of several efforts by Churchmen, backed by the Congregationalists of their communities, to secure society privileges from the General Assembly. This recognition, which was identical to that achieved by the New Lights of Guilford, Milford, and New Haven, would have transformed permitted practices into settled rights and freed Anglicans from a benign yet irksome neighborly tutelage. Given the central government's attitude, it is not surprising that such efforts were few, confined to St. James's in Waterbury's First Society (1744), to Christ Church in Newtown's First Society (1752), to St. Andrew's, Scotland, in Simsbury's First Society (1759, 1761), and, as noted above, to St. Paul's in Stratford's Ripton Society (1768-1769).⁷⁵ Neither is it remarkable that all failed, although the lower house initially did approve the Newtown request. What is significant is that men of the Standing Order—Churchmen's relatives and friends—were willing to sanction its formal rupturing in their communities and, moreover, were willing to do this in a most public manner by way of official town and society notifications to the legislature.⁷⁶ Whether these particular evolutions depended wholly on local factors, or whether Congregationalists, annoyed at the implied Assembly rebuke to themselves and the rebuff dealt their Anglican associates, reacted by enlarging the latter's privileges, the fact remains that St. James's and especially Christ Church, the two petitioning congregations for which extensive records survive, eventually gained notable degrees of financial autonomy. St. James's extant minutes of meetings, available for 1761-1775, show that it then was functioning, with some deviations, in the manner of a Congregational society. As for Christ Church, its minutes of 1764-1770 reveal a most exact congruity with the procedures of its First Society neighbors. Annually choosing a moderator, a prudential committee, and a collector, and fixing its own (and lower) ministerial tax rate, it operated without any recorded supervision by local Congregationalists and, indeed—as regards its total autonomy—with their blessing, a local justice and First

⁷⁵ Petition of Waterbury Anglicans, Apr. 22, 1744, in Bronson, *Waterbury*, 296; petitions of Newtown Anglicans [ca. May 1752], of Simsbury Anglicans, May 10, 1759, Oct. 1, 1761, of Anglicans of Ripton, New Stratford, and North Stratford, May 2, 1768, Conn. Arch., Ecclesiastical Affairs, 1st Ser., X, docs. 344, 351; XV, docs. 312, 313.

⁷⁶ Votes of Newtown town meeting, May 11, 1752, statement of Ripton and New Stratford Society committees, Jan. 3, 1769, Conn. Arch., Ecclesiastical Affairs, 1st Ser., X, doc. 343; XV, doc. 314; Bronson, *Waterbury*, 295. Although no comparable documents bearing on the Simsbury petitions are extant, it seems unlikely that the town's Churchmen would have approached the Assembly without securing them.

Church member having sworn its society clerk into office.⁷⁷ What the central government had denied, Newtown, as far as it could, had granted.

In various ways, then, Connecticut's towns and societies yield evidence that the emergence of Anglican congregations largely composed of Congregational defectors did not permanently disturb the most basic rhythms and deepest bonds of community life. Ties of kinship and neighborhood proved stronger than theological antagonisms and created a communalism that could span denominational differences. Given this situation, the choice of Churchmen for public office ceased to be an anomaly as long as the machinery of choice was locally based. In a community setting that choice became but one part of a consistent and general pattern.

⁷⁷ Records of St. John's (St. James's) Church, Waterbury, Conn., 1761-1927, I, 1-2, 7-8, 11; Records of Trinity (Christ) Church, Newtown, Conn., 1764-1922, I, 1, 4, 6-8; First Congregational Church, Newtown, Recs., I, 34-35, 37-38; V, 7-8.

Reprinted from the *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, XXXI, no. 3 (July, 1974), pp. 369-406, with the kind permission of the *Quarterly* and Professor Steiner.



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